AN ACCOUNT

OF THE

LIFE, MINISTRY, AND TRAVELS

OF THAT

ANCIENT SERVANT OF JESUS CHRIST

JOHN RICHARDSON.

He that heareth you, heareth Me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth Me; and he that despiseth Me, despiseth Him that sent Me.—Luke x. 16.

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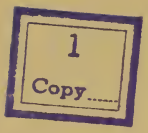

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THE TESTIMONY OF FRIENDS

BELONGING TO

GISBROUGH MONTHLY-MEETING

Concerning our worthy Friend, JOHN RICHARDSON, *who departed this life, near Hutton-in-the-Hole, the 2d of the Fourth month, 1753, in the Eighty-seventh year of his age, and was buried in the Friends' Burying-Ground, at Kirby-Moorside.*

AS MANY of our elders are removed, and but few left who had personal knowledge of this our Friend in his younger years and early part of his service, we cannot give so full an account thereof as otherwise might have been done. Nevertheless, by accounts transmitted to us, we have cause to believe he was much devoted and cheerfully given up to walk in the way of his duty, and therein was of great service to the churches where his lot was cast; as also an instrument in the Divine Hand in turning many to righteousness.

As to the latter part of his life, we have this testimony to give of him, that he was a lover of Discipline and good Order in the Church, diligent in attending meetings for

worship and Truth's service, whilst of ability; a good example therein, by sitting in a still, quiet, and unaffected manner in silence, and when raised up to bear a public testimony, was comfortable and acceptable to Friends.

And when his natural faculties were somewhat impaired, and he confined at home through old age and infirmities, he appeared more and more heavenly-minded, and seemed to grow in the life of religion, that we hope he is now at rest in the fruition of that happiness prepared for such as hold out to the end in well doing.

Signed on Behalf of the said Meeting, held at Castleton, the 22d of the Third month, 1754, by

John Snowdon,	Isaac Taylor,
William Peirson,	Thomas Ellerby,
John Flintoft,	Caleb Fletcher,
John Wilson,	John Martin,
Thomas Ward,	George Coats,
Onesiphorus Hoopus,	George Mason,
Isaac Stockton,	Joseph Flintoft,
John Baker,	Richard Wilson,
Thomas Wood,	William Hartas,
John Stephenson,	Joseph Hesleton

THE TESTIMONY OF FRIENDS

FROM THE

QUARTERLY-MEETING HELD AT YORK.

On reading the testimony given from the Monthly Meeting of Gisbrough, concerning our late ancient and worthy Friend John Richardson, deceased, of which we approve, and do find ourselves under an engagement to add this short testimony; that from certain experience of the service he has had amongst us in a fresh and lively ministry, and in the exercising of the Discipline of the Church in a Gospel spirit, whereby many received comfort and edification; and some of us having knowledge of him from his early appearance in the ministry, remember that he was acceptable to Friends, being sound in doctrine, reaching to the witness of God in those to whom he ministered. He was a diligent and faithful labourer, travelling several times through most parts of this nation, and visited Friends' Meetings in Scotland and Ireland, as also twice the English plantations in America, leaving many seals of his ministry, having had the approbation and unity of his Friends with his service both at home and abroad. He was a tender nursing father in the Church over the youth whom God had visited, to encourage and strengthen

those newly convinced, to whom also he was a good example; and though of a sweet and courteous disposition, yet careful in the spirit of wisdom to caution and guard such against the deceitful workings and false representations of the Spirit of Error; and to divers of us who visited him toward the close of his time, he appeared in a heavenly frame of mind, to our great comfort, evidencing a preparation for that eternal bliss whereinto (we doubt not) he is entered, and reaps the fruits of his labours.

Signed in and on Behalf of our Quarterly Meeting, held at York, the 27th and 28th of the Third month, 1754, by

Bossell Middleton,	Samuel Grimshaw,
John Scott,	William Coning,
Robert Henderson,	Thomas Aldam, Jun.,
Edward Stabler,	William Payne,
Roger Shackleton,	John Greenwood,
Layton Firbank,	John Hustler,
William Hird,	Caleb Fletcher,
John Flintoft,	William Brown,
William Cowell,	Abraham Sutcliff,
John Birkbeck,	John Sutcliff,
John Kilden,	Jonathan Craven,

Thomas Rowland.

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AN ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE

OF

JOHN RICHARDSON,

With a Brief Relation concerning his Father,

WILLIAM RICHARDSON.

CHAPTER I.

Account of his Father—His Sufferings and Death—Youthful Follies and Visitations—Openings and Trials—Aversion to Quakers and their Plainness—Dislike of his Mother's Marriage—Her Sorrow—Ill-treatment by his Step-father—Marmaduke Stevenson—Early Appearance as a Minister—Forced to Leave Home—Apprenticeship—His Master's Kindness—Healed of his Lameness and Stammering—Travels in the Ministry—William Dewsbury—Learns Clockmaking—Disputes with Priests and Professors—Settles at Bridlington—His Marriage—Parentage, Character, and Death of his Wife—Vision—Prophecy—Cure.

IT HAS been repeatedly revived in my mind to leave the following account concerning my dear father, William Richardson, having also seen something of his own in manuscript concerning his convincement, with remarks on some other things; but I being young when he died, did not then much heed it, and when I would gladly have seen it for my own satisfaction, I could not, nor as yet can, meet with it; therefore, inasmuch as my father was early convinced of the truth, a sufferer for it and bore a public testimony to it, I found it my duty, as near as I could remem-

ber the contents thereof, to leave this short account concerning him, viz. :—

He was born at North Cave, in the east part of Yorkshire, in the year 1624, of honest parents and of good repute, and was educated in the Episcopal way, being soberly inclined, from his childhood and upward a lover and seeker after purity and virtue; and I have heard him say, gave his mind much to retirement, reading the Holy Scriptures, breathing and seeking after the Lord especially in the fields, being by calling a shepherd; and it pleased the Lord to open his understanding so clearly, that he saw and longed for a more excellent dispensation to come; and also saw that the priests were wrong, and generally proud and covetous, so that he was weary with following them, and much weaned from them and all company, except two or three men who did meet with him, and spoke one unto another concerning their inward conditions, and what they had experienced of the Lord's dealings with them. This was before they had heard of the name Quaker, as it was in a short time after given to a people which the Lord raised up to give testimony of the notable and ancient, yet newly-revived and blessed, dispensation of Christ's coming and manifestation by the Holy Spirit, inwardly in the hearts and minds of the children of men, in order to enlighten, quicken, sanctify, and save them from darkness, death, ignorance, and sin, that they might be made capable of obeying, worshiping, and glorifying the great God and sanctifier of them.

And as my father was thus waiting and looking for a more general breaking forth of this glorious, powerful, and gospel day, which had in a good degree sprung up in his heart, he had not, as yet, seen that worthy and good man, George Fox, although he passed through those parts

about that time; but soon after came William Dewsbury, and at the sound of his voice, I have heard my father say, he was exceeding glad, in hearing him declare the way to find the lost piece of silver, the pearl of great price within, a Saviour near that had been held forth by men to be at a distance. But having left the dark watchmen, of whom they used to inquire, they now met with their beloved at home in their own bosoms; renowned be the great name of the Lord, now and for ever.

Thus, the hearing and receiving the ever blessed truth was as the seed or word of the kingdom, sown in the good ground or honest hearts of men, which took root downward and sprang upward and brought forth fruit, in some thirty, in some sixty, and in others an hundred-fold, to the praise of the great and good husbandman.

My said father was early raised up to bear a public testimony, which was living and acceptable to Friends, but was so much attended with weakness of body for many years, that he went little abroad in the work of the ministry. He suffered patiently the spoiling of his goods, and imprisonment of his weakly body, in the great and more general imprisonment; he not only believed in Jesus Christ, but suffered for him: he was a good neighbour, a loving husband, and a tender father over all that was good, but severe to all that which was wrong, and was for judgment without respect of persons, and spared it not even to his own children; and especially was he much concerned for me, for, as he said, I was the wildest of them; and as he lived well and believed in Jesus Christ, I doubt not that he has finished his course in the love and favour of God, is entered into a mansion of glory, and is at rest with all the faithful who loved not their lives unto death, but rather hated them in comparison of that endeared and

unfeigned love they bore to God the Father, and to Jesus Christ His dear and well-beloved Son, who died for them, and also for the whole world.

He departed this life in 1679, aged about fifty-five years, and was decently buried in the Friends' burying-place in Hotham, near Cave, where he was born.

Now, having given this short account concerning my father, it remains with me to leave to posterity some remarks on my convincement, with an account of sundry transactions, travels, healings, and deliverances I met with in and from my youth to this day, with some advice and openings in the Spirit of Truth.

I was young when my father died, not above thirteen years of age, yet the Lord was at work by His Light, Grace, and Holy Spirit in my heart, but I knew not then what it was which inwardly disquieted my mind, when any thing which was evil did prevail over the good in me, which it oftentimes did for want of taking heed to that of God in my heart: I desired ease and peace some other way, without taking up the cross of Christ to my own corrupt will, and strove for some time (as no doubt many do) to make merry over the Just Witness, until for a season the converting and true witness of God seemed to be slain, or disappeared; and then I took liberty, but not in gross evils which many ran into, being preserved religiously inclined, seeking after professors, and inquiring of them for my information and satisfaction, to find (if I could) any thing that was safe to rest in, or any true and solid comfort to my poor, disconsolate, and bewildered soul; but I was afraid I should be deceived, or take up a false rest in any thing that was wrong or unsafe—which was the great love and mercy of God to me. But after many searchings

and inquirings among those who were but in the letter without and in the outward court, where the veil is over the understanding, and the eye of the mind is not truly opened to see into things that are invisible and hid from all carnal-minded men, even so was my state and afflictions hid from them; and all the deceitful workings of Satan, and the strong temptations which I met with, these blind guides could not see, nor their veiled understandings know, how to direct me to the true Shepherd of Israel, the Lawgiver coming out of Sion, that turns away ungodliness from Jacob, and transgression from Israel; not having truly experienced deliverance wrought in them out of this cloudy, bewildered, and tempted state which I was in. Oh! that people would come to Him that hath the eye-salve, with which if the eye be truly anointed, it will see clearly things as they are, and not darkly, mistaking trees for men, and things terrestial for things celestial; and that they would buy gold tried by the fire of him that is called the tried stone, elect and precious, laid in Sion for a foundation. This is Christ, whom the true Church believes in and builds upon, and they are enriched with his love, power, and virtue, which is better than gold outwardly: this is the anointing and the unction, which the true Church hath and doth receive from Christ the Holy One; and such as do truly put on his righteousness, purity, and holiness, their clothing is better than that of fine linen outwardly. Oh! that all the inhabitants of the earth might be thus anointed, enriched, and truly clothed, that no more inward blindness or poverty may be found in the children of men, nor the shame of their nakedness be any more seen, now or hereafter.

Receive and learn these things, you that can, of Him that is the faithful and true witness, that always witnesseth

against the evil in man, but always giveth witness to the Father for the good in men, which they do say and think. This is the spirit of him that was dead, and is alive, no more to be known after the flesh, as the Apostle gave testimony, and is to be known inwardly and spiritually by the children of men, to open the blind eye, and unstop the deaf ear, and pierceth into the soul that hath been clouded and captivated, imprisoned and misguided, and even in a wilderness, and sees not a way for deliverance: like Israel in the land of Egypt, when the Lord Jehovah sent Moses, a lively type of Christ, and employed him in that great work of pleading with, and plaguing Pharaoh and the Egyptians; yet for a time their burdens and afflictions were increased, and their exercises more imbittered unto them, until that great and marvelous work was in a good degree accomplished, which was their deliverance out of Egypt, the great and mighty work for which Moses was chiefly sent; which deliverance was not wrought until the first-born of man, and of beast, was slain throughout all the land of Egypt.

Now the clear opening I had in the light of what is to be understood and gathered from hence, is not the slaying of the outward man, but a putting off, or slaying the body of the sins of the flesh, crucifying or putting off the old man with his deeds; and as to the beast, all cruelty, lust, pushing, tearing, devouring, and savageness, is to be slain or put away; and the corrupt or strong will of man, as well as what is beastial must be slain, before man can come from under the power of him who is called the Prince of the Power of the Air, who rules in the hearts of the children of disobedience. These things must be experienced before the children of men can go forth rightly qualified to glorify God, and follow His dear Son, whom

He hath appointed to be a leader and a commander of His people. This is he, as Moses declares, who is to be heard in all things, under the penalty of being cut off from the people, or of having their names blotted out of the Book of Life, or being deprived of the comforts of the Lord's holy presence. Read this, you who have heard and understood what the Spirit saith unto the churches. These things I saw after the true witness arose or revived, and the light did shine which had disappeared, or had been clouded. I have been led into these openings, which have caused a little digression from my wilderness state, mentioned before, which I now return to.

After much searching without amongst those who proved to me physicians of no value and miserable comforters, I betook myself to a lonesome and retired life, breathing after and seeking the Lord in the fields and private places, beseeching Him that He would bring me to the saving knowledge of His truth; and blessed be the name of the Lord now and for ever, I had not sought Him long with all my heart, before I met with His inward appearance to me, in and by His Holy Spirit, Light, and Grace; but when the true light did begin to shine more clearly, and the living witness did arise in my inward man, oh! then my undone, bewildered, and miserable condition began to appear, and then great and unutterable were my conflicts and the distress I was in: I thought no man's condition upon the face of the whole earth was like mine; I thought I was not fit to die, neither did I know how to live; I thought in the evening, oh! that it was morning; and in the morning, oh! that it was evening. I had many solitary walks in the fields and other places, in which I many times poured out my complaints and cries before the Lord, with fervent supplications to Him that

He would look upon my afflictions and the strong temptations I was then under, and that He would rebuke the adversary of my soul and deliver it, for I even thought it was in the jaws of a devouring lion and amongst the fiery spirits, and, as it were, under the weight of the mountains. Read and understand the afflictions of thy brother, thou that hast come through great tribulations, and hast washed and made thy garments white in the blood of the Lamb: this is the beginning of that baptism which doth save, and of that washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost, which the Lord sheds upon the believers in abundance; this is the blood which sprinkleth the heart from an evil conscience, that the children of men, thus changed, may serve the living and true God; this is the life which converts the world, even as many as are converted; this is the virtue, life, and blood which maketh clean the saints' garments, and inwardly washeth them from all filthiness, both of flesh and spirit. I found this was and is He of whom it is said, by Him were all things made, and He is the Lord of all: a man ought to be servant to Him, and all things in man; subservient to Him who commands and comprehends all things, in whom all the types and shadows also do end, or are fulfilled. Read this, thou virgin daughter, or clean Church of Christ, the rock of thy strength, whose name to thee is as precious ointment poured forth; and because of the savour thereof, the virgins love him, and are under great obligations to obey and follow him, the Lamb of God, wheresoever he leadeth.

Although I had seen many things and had divers openings, yet great were my trials, and many were the temptations I met with in those days, for I lived at a distance from Friends and meetings, which made my exer-

cise the harder, as will more fully hereafter appear in the course of my travels and pilgrimage in this vale of tears and troubles, and some of them not very common; but the Lord helped me through them all, blessed be His name for ever.

I now came to witness that Scripture to be fulfilled which saith, that when the Lord's judgments are in the earth, or earthly hearts of men, the inhabitants learn righteousness. And notwithstanding there was an aversion in my wild nature to the people in scorn called Quakers, as also to the name itself, yet when the afflicting hand of the Lord was upon me for my disobedience, and when, like Ephraim and Judah, I saw in the light my hurt and my wound, I bemoaned myself, and mourned over that just principle of light and grace in me, which I had pierced with my sins and disobedience; and although that ministration of condemnation was glorious in its time, yet great were my troubles, which humbled my mind and made me willing to deny myself of every thing which the light made known in me to be evil, I being in great distress and wanting peace and assurance of the love of God to my soul; the weight of which so humbled my mind that I knew not of any calling, people, practice, or principle that was lawful and right, which I could not embrace or fall in with. This was surely like the day of Jacob's troubles and David's fears. I saw that the filth of Sion was to be purged away by the spirit of judgment and of burning: this is the way of the deliverance and recovery of poor men out of the fall, and the time of the restoration of the kingdom to God's true Israel. Read ye that can, and understand. This was the day of my baptism into the love of God and true faith in His beloved Son, as also into a feeling of, or sympathy with, him in his sufferings,

which were unutterable; and I found that ministration changed,—that which had been unto death was now unto life; and the ministration which was of condemnation unto the first birth, when that was slain and in a good degree nailed or fastened to the cross of Christ, the power of God, then the good prevailed over the evil, and working out the evil in the mind and also in the members, made all good or holy. The Lord's living power and consuming, burning Word, when it works and prevails, it brings into subjection and maketh the very heart or ground holy in men.

Whereas there had been an aversion in me to the people called in scorn Quakers, and also to their strict living and demeanour, plainness of habit and language, none of which I learned from them; for when the Lord changed my heart, He also changed my thoughts, words, and ways, and there became an aversion in me to vice, sin, and vanity, as there had been to the ways of virtue; but having tasted of the terrors and judgments of God because of sin, I was warned to flee from such things as occasioned Christ's coming, not to bring peace upon the earth, but a sword; a sword indeed, yea, his heart-penetrating, searching Word, which is sharper than any two-edged sword, that pierceth to the cutting or dividing asunder between flesh and spirit, joints and marrow; and thus I came to see and abhor the evil in myself. When such who had been my companions in vanity reviled me, or came in my way, I was often moved to warn and reprove them, having, as before hinted, tasted of the terrors of the Lord for sin, I could not well forbear to warn others to flee such things as I had been judged for. Now I came clearly to be convinced about the hat-honour, bowing the knee, the corrupt language, as well as finery in habit; all which for conscience sake, and the peace thereof, I came

to deny and take up the cross to, and had great peace in so doing.

Although the blessed truth prevailed in me, yet notwithstanding, I was not without great conflicts of spirit, temptations, and trials of divers kinds; nevertheless, my mind was resigned to the Lord, and my fervent prayers were to Him, and He kept me and opened my understanding, for I was afraid of being misled in any thing, especially relating to my salvation: I came to be weaned from all my companions and lovers which I had taken delight and pleasure in, and all things in this world were little to me, my mind being much redeemed out of the world, and not only the corrupt and evil part thereof, but even from the lawful part; so that my heart and mind became much inclined and given up to seek the Lord, waiting upon Him to feel His presence and peace, and to know His will and receive power to do the same.

As thus my mind came to be brought into a depending and waiting frame upon the Lord, and to be stayed in the light, and experimentally and feelingly to partake of His love and grace, which helped me against my infirmities, (blessed be His name!), I found it sufficient for me, as I kept to it, in all trials and temptations; then I came to see, that all the outward performances in matters of religion did not avail nor render man acceptable to God, but as the heart came to be truly given up to Him, that He might not only purge it from defilement, but keep it clean through the indwelling of His Holy Spirit; and as near as I remember, I saw clearly through these things before the fifteenth year of my age; although, between the death of my father and this time, I took liberty to go among what people I would, my mother giving us great liberty, although she was a woman well accounted of

among all people who knew her, and not undeservedly, for her industry and fair dealing concerning the things of this world.

After this time I attended the meetings of the Lord's people, called Quakers, as diligently as my circumstances would well admit. My mother being left with five children, I had only one sister that was older than myself, and three brothers younger, the youngest about three years old when my father died, he leaving but little of this world to bring us up with; yet my parents always had as much as kept them above contempt, and nobody lost by them; but I found myself under a necessity to work hard for my own support, the help of my mother, and education of my brothers, more especially as my sister died soon after.

We being left on a farm of grazing, and part husbandry or tillage, did well as to the things of this world, yet I cannot well omit mentioning one thing which became a great exercise to me, which was thus: my mother married one that was zealous for the Presbytery, and I being much against it, showed my dislike to the marriage, and told my mother, I was afraid that she had too much an eye to what he had, for he was counted rich as to this world; but if she thought to augment our portions in so marrying, the hand of the Lord would be against her, and a blasting or mildew would come upon even that which we had got through industry and hard labour, and what the Lord had intended to have blessed to us, if we kept faithful to the truth, and contented ourselves with our present conditions. Then my mother confessed, that as to the worldly enjoyments, it had not been better with her than now. I must write with great caution; she was my mother, and a tender mother over me, and was loth to

offend me, and had promised, as far as she well durst, not to marry with any one with whom I was not satisfied. But as to their procedure in courtship and marriage, from this time I was entirely ignorant, until it was accomplished. But when my poor mother was married, her cry was, My son, how shall I ever be able to look him in the face any more, it will be such a trouble to him; he that hath not at any time disobliged me, but if I bid him go, he ran; and if I bid him do any thing, he did it with all his might; or to that effect, as several told me who heard her. But she being married, what we had was mixed with my father-in-law's goods, and my mother died first, and our father married again, made his will, and dying, left me five shillings for all my part, which was of right to descend from my own parents upon me; I gave his executors a receipt in full, and there was an end of all, except some small matter given to my youngest brother, for the rest of my brothers and sisters were dead. As near as I remember, this marriage was in the eighteenth year of my age, so that what I foresaw about the blast and mildew came to pass.

Now to return to my further account concerning the troubles and trials that attended me in the time while I was in my father-in-law and mother's house, after marriage, we, and what we had, being removed to his house, except part of the stock which was left in the grounnd. Now I foresaw that I was like to come to a great trial, and I was brought very low, what with the trouble about the marriage, and the exercise of my mind concerning my own condition, having had many great conflicts of spirit, so that I was almost in despair. Had not the Lord, in whom I believed, risen in His power, and rebuked the adversary of my soul, I had been overthrown, and swal-

lowed up in the floods of the temptations that were cast out of the mouth of the red fiery-like dragon after me, in this the day of my great and strong trouble and travail; but the God of love and pity saw me, and helped me in my distress, and in a day and time acceptable. He that heard poor Ishmael when he cried from under the shrub, and sent or gave relief to him and his mother, who with him was gone from Abraham's house, saw me in this great strait. Also, when I came to my father's house, he being a man much given to family duties, of saying grace, &c., before and after meat, none of which I could comply with, except I felt evidently the Spirit of Truth to attend therein, and open the heart and mouth into such duties. The first day I came to the house, being called to the table with all or most of our family, I thought, Is it now come to this? I must either displease my Heavenly or earthly father. But oh! the awfulness, or the deep exercise which was upon my spirit, and strong cries that ascended unto the Lord for my help and preservation that I might not offend Him. My father-in-law sat with his hat partly on and partly off, with his eyes fixed on me, as likewise mine were on him in much fear; so we continued as long or longer than he used to be in saying Grace, as they call it, but said nothing that we heard; so at length he put on his hat again, to the wonder of the family; neither did he then, or ever after, ask me why I did not put off my hat; neither did he perform that ceremony all the time I stayed with him, which was about one year. Thus the Lord helped me, renowned be His great name now and forever. My father might seem for age, spirit, and understanding to have been much more than a match for me, a poor shrub; but the Lord (who caused the pillar of the cloud to be bright and give light to Israel, and brought darkness

upon the Egyptians, and fought against them, and for Israel) I believe touched and smote my poor father, that he could not rise up against that power the Lord helped me with. For it was not mine, but the Lord's doing; to Him be given the attributes of praise, salvation, and strength, now and forever. I saw clearly that there could not be any true and acceptable worship performed to God but what was in the Spirit and in the Truth, neither could any pray aright but as the Spirit helped them,—which teacheth how to pray, and what to pray for, and rightly prepares the mind, and guides it in the performance of every service which the Lord calls for from His children.

I found my father-in-law was much displeased with my going to meetings, yet I could not see what way to appease his displeasure, except in being very diligent (which I was) in his business, rather beyond my ability, working very hard. It is almost incredible what my poor, little, weak body went through in those days, but all would not gain his love, for the longer I stayed with him, the more his love declined from me; although I told him, he need not be uneasy about my wages, for I would leave that to himself. I could not see what he could have against me, except my going to meetings; however, that was all he alleged. Now when his former stratagems would not do, he offered me a horse to ride on, if I would go with him to his place of worship. I met with many a snub and sour countenance from him, in my return on foot from meetings, although as seasonably as my body was capable of performing; for my father commonly sent me on the First-day mornings into the fields a mile or two, and as far upon a common to look at beasts, horses, and sheep (all this on foot), I thought with a design to weary and make me incapable of going to meetings; all which I bore pa-

tiently, neither, that I remember, ever said, this is hard usage; after all this, to the great grief of my poor mother, I had to go two, three, four, five, and sometimes six miles, to Friends' meetings. After I had walked fast, and ran sometimes with my shoes under my arms for want of time, I have seen many Friends weep and could not forbear, when they saw me come into the meeting very hot and in a great sweat, they being in part sensible of the hard task I had to undergo.

There is one thing somewhat remarkable, which was thus: one First-day morning when I was about going to the meeting, my father said, if I would ride upon such a young mare, as he mentioned, I might; which was one of the greatest of ten or twelve horses which he kept, about four years old, and not before rode at all. I thought his design was more to hinder me of the meeting than any good to me, or any expectation of getting his mare rightly broke, but I accepted his offer, only asking how I might catch her? Having got help to answer that, she being abroad, I put on the bridle and mounted the topping beast, and upon her first resistance, down she came; for that was my way; and if the first or second fall did not, the third mostly cured them from striving to throw the rider. I commonly fell upon my feet, and endeavoured so to free my legs that she might not fall upon them, and then sprang up on her back while down, and made her rise with me; so away we went, and came in due time to the meeting. This was partly the beginning of this way of managing horses by me; so I rode to the meetings two or three times, and then my father asked me, if the mare did not carry me soberly? I replied, she did; then I must have her no more, he would make her his saddle-mare; so I betook myself to my feet again, except some other such

like turn came. The Lord's mighty power bore me up, and He gave me as it were hind's feet, and enabled me to go through these exercises, and to bear the burden in the heat of the day of my trials, inwardly and outwardly, which were many and various.

Now the last stratagem my father used to hinder my going to meetings was thus: he took me in his arms in great show of kindness, saying, If I would be as a son to him, I should find he would be a father to me, expressing something about his having no near kindred (and much more to the same effect he said to my brother Daniel, who was an innocent, wise, and clean-spirited lad): I replied to him, If in thus making me thy son, thou intends to hinder me from going to meetings, or to oblige me to go with thee to the Presbyterian meetings, or any thing that is against my conscience, I cannot upon this bottom be thy son; and for the same reasons, I refused to be his hired servant, although he offered to hire me and give me wages. Now when he saw that neither frowns, threatenings, hardships, nor great promises of kindness could prevail with me, he told me bluntly and roughly, I should stay no longer in his house. I innocently answered, I could not help it if it must be so, as all that I could do would not give him content, without hurting my conscience, and the peace of my mind, which I valued above all mutable things of this world. My poor mother heard my pleading with him, and how I offered to do the best for him I was capable of, by night or day (as I always had done), if he would be easy, and let me have his countenance; but this was the sentence, No, I should not stay in the house: and indeed that troubled my poor mother so, that I was forced to leave my father and go to endeavour to mitigate her great trouble, by telling her, that if I was but faithful, the Lord, I be-

lieved, would take care of me that I should not want; and the more fully to discharge myself, I reminded her, that as she had entered into marriage covenants with her husband, she should endeavour to perform them, and in every thing faithfully to discharge herself as a wife ought to do to a husband, and leave me and all and cleave to him, and to make her life as easy as she could. I also told her, never to send me any thing that my father knew not of, for I was not free to receive it; although what we had was in his hand, and all sunk there, as I mentioned before.

I write this partly, that all who do marry, may take special heed that it be done with great caution, and under due consideration, and the Lord sought to in it; that it may be done in His counsel, and not only nominally, but truly in His fear, and then no doubt but it will be well with both husband and wife; and being equally yoked, such will not only be meet and true helpers in all things belonging to this life, but more especially in things appertaining to the world that is to come and the good of the immortal soul, which to the faithful people of the Lord is of great value. Oh, how happily and peaceably do such live together in the Lord, as they keep to that which thus joined them! There is more in it, both as to the parents and their posterity, than it is to be feared many consider or think of, as is but too apparent in the many forward and unequal marriages which I have made observation of.

One remarkable passage occurs to my thoughts, which happened thus: my father having been at the Presbyterian meeting and come home, he, as his manner was, put me or my brother upon reading the priest's text, which had been that day in Daniel, concerning his being cast into the den of lions for his not regarding the king's decree, but, on the contrary, prayed to the God of heaven with his

windows open toward Jerusalem, after his wonted manner. My father made his observations as my brother read, and very much magnified Daniel, and said, The Spirit of God was in him, but that there were none such as him in these our days. I owned that he was indeed an extraordinary man, but that there were none endowed with a measure of the same spirit in any degree, in that I dissented from him, and gave my father a brief account of the many sufferings of our Friends, some of which were past, and some then under sufferings for the Word of God and the testimony of Jesus, which they bore for him, and especially the great sufferings of our dear friends in New England, viz.: hard imprisonments, cruel whippings, cutting-off ears, banishment if they returned into New England any more; and I showed him likewise, how they put to death Marmaduke Stephenson, William Robinson, William Leddra, and Mary Dyer, for no other cause but labouring to turn people from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to the living power of God, to His Light, Grace, and Holy Spirit in their hearts, and labouring to bring the people from persecution, pride, and every evil work and way, to live a self-denying, humble life, a life agreeable to the Christianity they professed,—this was the purport or substance of the service they were called to, and so deeply suffered for: from whence I inferred, there was somewhat of the Spirit of God in man in these days as there was in Daniel, and many more formerly, which helped and bore them up in their great sufferings. Now my father confessed, it was true some suffered for good, and some for evil; and withal said, he had now lived to the age of about sixty-five years, and although he heard us telling of a principle, or light within, yet he knew not what it was. I replied very meekly, if he would hear me, I would tell

him what it was; which I did in the words following: When at any time thou hast been under a temptation to put forth thy hand to steal, or to lie for advantage, or by provocation to swear, or any evil work or word, hast not thou found something in thee that hath showed thee thou oughtest not to have said or done so, which if thou hadst taken heed to, and not said or done wrong, hast thou not found great peace and inward comfort in thy mind? But if thou hast said or done wrong, hast not thou found great disquietness and trouble of mind? This is the inward principle, light, or grace, that God hath placed in man to help and direct him, which we the people of God, called Quakers, do hold agreeable to the Holy Scriptures. My father smote his hands together, and confessed it was true.

But that I was not willing to break in upon this story, but keep it entire, there was one thing worthy of notice, which I now come to, wishing it may be duly considered by all who read or hear it: when I mentioned Marmaduke Stephenson, that good man and great sufferer in the cause of Christ, as before, my mother said, it was true; for she lived a servant with Edward Wilberfoss, an honest Quaker in Skipton, where Marmaduke Stephenson was a day-labourer, about the time he had his call to go to New England. See the account of New England judged, not by man as man, but by the Spirit of the living God, written by George Bishop. If I remember right, she said, He was such a man as she never knew, for his very countenance was a terror to them, and he had a great check upon all the family: if at any time any of the servants had been wild, or any way out of the truth, if they did but see him, or hear him coming, they were struck with fear, and were all quiet and still; and if but one of the children came into the house where he laboured, and he would not have it to

come, these were his words, Go thy way, or go home, lest I whip thee; and they were subject and quiet. This ample and excellent account, I thought, had some reach upon my father; however, it much affected my mind. Oh! that we, the professors of the same Holy Truth, may so live in it, as to reign over every wrong thing in ourselves and also in others, but especially in our children.

Some little time before the marriage of my mother, I was brought into the public work of the ministry, concerning which I had many reasonings, being young, scarce eighteen years old, and naturally of a stammering tongue, which I could not overcome, although I had used what endeavours lay in my power as a man, considering my years and education, all would not do until the Truth helped me; but after many conflicts, great troubles and temptations, the worst I ever met with, and the most piercing sorrow I ever had yet been in since I came to the knowledge of the blessed Truth was, when through reasonings, disobedience, and unwillingness to comply with and answer the Lord's requirings, He in displeasure took away from me the comfort of His Holy Presence for several months together. Oh! the tribulations and penetrating troubles I met withal in this condition; no tongue is able to express, no, nor the heart of any finite creature is able to conceive the depth of the anxiety of the heart-piercing and wounding sorrows I was in. I thought my state was as bad as Jonah's, for surely if there be a hell upon earth, I was in it: what greater hell can be here to a quickened soul and an enlightened understanding, who has tasted of the goodness of God, and of the powers, in a degree, of the world to come, than to be deprived thereof, and think they are fallen away from this state? I could scarcely believe I should ever have repentance granted to me, or be re-

stored again into the love and favour of God, when I found that River of Life dried up, as to me, which did before not only make me, but even all the whole City of God, truly glad; but being left under an apprehension of the Lord's displeasure, and in part a partaker of the terrors of His wrath, oh! I thought, surely the very mountains, and even the hills, were not sufficient (if they could have been put into the scales or balance) to have weighed against my troubles and afflictions, they were so great; but as the Lord had by His judgments brought me in a good degree from the vice and vanity of this world, now by His judgments He made me willing to give up to answer His requirings in part, and in my obedience to Him I began to feel some comfort of love and fellowship of the Spirit of the Lord in myself and in His people, who were brought to be partakers of the like fellowship.

Now I return to the matter about my being turned out of my father's house, which I mentioned before, but was willing to keep this solemn account entire, with desires it may be a caution to all in whom the Lord is at work in the same manner, not to reason or gainsay so much as I did, but to give up freely and cheerfully to the will of God. When I saw I must turn out, I thought it expedient to acquaint some worthy Friends with it, lest any undue reflections should be cast upon the Truth, or Friends, or myself, that if so, these Friends might be able to contradict them; so I acquainted Sebastian Ellethorp, and that worthy man and minister of the Gospel Benjamin Padley, two of the chief Friends in Ellington Monthly-meeting, and they came to my father's house, and when they came, they began to enquire about the reasons why I went away, and, if my father had any thing against me concerning the business he employed me in; and whether

I was not faithful and diligent in all his affairs he sent me about? He confessed, I was; and thought none could exceed me. They said, Well then, what is the reason of that misunderstanding which is betwixt thee and thy son-in-law? Is it about his going to meetings? When they understood his reasons, which were not hard to do, they expressed a pity toward me that I could have no more liberty; and they thought, as I was so diligent in his business, if he would give me a little more liberty to go to meetings, it would be more encouragement to me. At which he took offence, and gave the good men rough language, and asked, What they had to do with him and his son? and bid them go home and mind their own business; which they were much troubled at, especially for my sake, and much pitied me, and wondered how I had lived with him so long; for he said in short, that there was no abiding for me there. But Sebastian Ellethorp told me, which was mightily to my comfort, that my father had nothing against me, save that concerning the law of my God. This is the sense, if not the words, of these wise and good men, which passed betwixt them and my father, as they expressed them to me; for I was not there when they were together.

Notwithstanding I pleaded with my father to let me stay until I could hear of a place, he would not, though I was scarce fit for service, being almost like an anatomy (as the saying is), so that most who knew me, said, I would pine away in a consumption; but turn out I must, and did, though I was weak, poor, and low in body, mind, pocket, and clothes; for I think I had but twelve pence in my pocket, and very ordinary clothes upon my back. Thus I took my solemn leave of the family, with my heart full, but I kept inward to the Lord, and under Truth's government. Many tears were shed in the family, especially by

my poor mother, when I left them. My father said little, but appeared like one struck with wonder, to see so much love manifested toward me by the family, and so much wishing that I might not go away; but out I came upon the great common aforementioned, where I had had many solitary walks, but none like this, for this reason, that I knew not where to go. I then thought of Abraham who was called out of Ur in the land of the Chaldeans, as it is briefly mentioned by Stephen; but this was the difference betwixt us, he was called, I was forced out. But as I was walking upon the common, the sense of my weak condition, not knowing whither to go, nor where to lay my head; although I had many friends, yet I could not be free to go to them, unless I had known they had business for me, being not of a forward, but rather backward and shy disposition,—I say, the sense and weight of my condition came over me to that degree, that it appeared to me as though my way was hedged up on every side, inwardly and outwardly. I even thought myself like a pelican in the wilderness, or as an owl in the desert, there appearing to me scarce a man in all the earth in my condition, every way considered; and in the sense and deep consideration of my present wilderness state, I felt myself under great oppression of spirit, and my heart seemed full, like a bottle that wanted vent. I looked round about me to see that none were near to see my tears nor hear my cries, and in the very anguish and bitterness of my soul I poured forth my complaints, cries, and tears to the Judge of all the earth, who spoke to me and comforted me in this my deplorable state, which was worse than Jacob's when he lay upon the ground, and had a stone for his pillow; he had his near kindred to go to, whom he might expect would receive him gladly, but I had none to go to but such as rather

reviled me, and gave me hard language; but the Lord said unto me, as if a man had spoke, First seek the kingdom of heaven and the righteousness thereof, and all these things that thou standeth in need of shall be given unto thee. I then desired He would please to show me the place I should go to; and the Lord opened my way, and showed me the house I should go to and abide in for a time. I said, Good is the word of the Lord: I believed, and it was a great means to stay my mind, and settle it in the Truth, with full purpose of heart to follow the Lord and obey His requirings, according to the knowledge and ability given me; yet reasonings attended me. Two things especially stood in my way, yea, three things were a let to me, for soon after I came to the Friend's house in South Cliff, viz., William Allon by name, I bound myself to him to learn his trade of a weaver, and after I was bound, I found this good man loved me, and I loved him to the day of his death: and he often said, He was blessed for my sake and all that appertained unto him; for when I went to him he was very poor, but he increased very considerably after I went to live with him.

I come now to the particulars which stood in my way of answering the Lord's commands so fully as sometimes I should have done: first, a violent humour fell into one of my legs soon after I was bound apprentice, which I with others thought was much occasioned by hard usage, heats, and colds, and many surfeits, even from my infancy; which lameness held me about two years, and I suffered much by the said leg, and it much discouraged and disabled me. The second hindrance was, my low circumstances in the world, which very few knew of, because the common fame was (and not without some truth) that I had rich parents. I have given an account already how they were circum-

stanced, and so I leave them at present and proceed, but few knew the straits I met withal; yet my truly religious master, if he understood any thing was upon my mind to go to visit any meeting or meetings, he would say, Take my mare and go thy way, and be not uneasy, neither about the mare nor business, nor do not hasten thyself. These kindnesses made me often thoughtful how I might return suitable acknowledgments, and be duly grateful for the same: I was diligent in my master's business, not serving him with eye-service, but faithfully; believing it good and acceptable in the sight of God, and I had great peace in it. My master never found fault with me for doing too little, but often for doing too much, and would sometimes say, I think thou wilt cleave to the beam; come off and let us walk into the fields and see how things are there. Now as to the third hindrance, the account of which I was not willing to have interwoven with matters of less moment, although the healing of my very sore leg I attribute to the great and good providence of God; for in a short time after I gave up freely and cheerfully to answer the Lord's requirings, the Lord healed me of my lameness; and when I cried unto Him, that He would also heal my tongue of its stammering, believing that the Lord was as able to take away the impediment of my tongue as He was to stop the violence of that humour which had attended my body, and had a recourse to my leg, and made it sore from above the ankle to the knee; and notwithstanding several men had given their advice, and had showed their skill, it all proved ineffectual, until I came to believe in Jesus Christ, and to press through all to him, and to touch the skirt, or lowest appearance of his blessed truth and power, in which I found true healing virtue to my soul and also to my body, and to my tongue, even to my admiration; so that I did

not only speak plain in the testimony the Lord gave me to bear, but also spoke plain in my common intercourse with men.

I was likewise in these days under the dispensation of openings and visions, and thought myself as it were upon Mount Pisgah, and saw into the holy land, and into things relating to God and His heavenly kingdom, and into His work and way of bringing man out of the fall and alienation to Himself again, and into a heavenly state in Christ, as man yields true obedience unto the leadings and operation of His blessed grace and Holy Spirit in the heart. But under such dispensations it is requisite, yea, of absolute necessity, that man be brought into true self-denial, as also into a depending frame of mind and true resignation of will to the will of God, and a daily sitting as in the dust as to the motions and workings of the creature as such,—for all that is of man's working, or work, does but let or hinder the spiritual work of God in the heart; and we must come truly to know all fleshly motions and the workings in man's own will and spirit to be silenced to hear the voice of God, which is a still small voice, and not to be heard in the noise and hurries of the world, neither when the mind is busied with things agreeable to our own corrupt wills and depraved nature.

But although at times I had clear sights into many heavenly things, and also had at times comfortable enjoyments of the living presence of God, yet I wanted to be more established in the unchangeable Truth, which I had at times some comfortable feeling of; and in crying to the Lord, I found He inclined unto me, and, as David said, He heard my cries, and plucked my feet out of the mire and clay, and set them upon a rock that was higher than I, and in part established my goings, and put a new song

into my mouth, even high praises unto the Lord for all His tender mercies to me in these trying times; and now being more crucified to the world, and the spirit of it, I witnessed a more constant indwelling of the heavenly power and living presence, light, and grace. I came to be brought into stillness, and it became most agreeable to my condition to keep much in silence, and wait upon the Lord for the renewing of strength, that thereby I might surmount all temptations and trials that might fall in my way, or which I might be tried with, which were not a few.

Now these things before recited are worthy of commemoration, and proved great confirmations to me in the truth, in these days of my tribulations and great trials: read and believe thou that canst, for they are faithful and true sayings. After the Lord had healed me, He sent me forth in the work of the ministry, and the first journey I took southward was into Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, and through Coventry, and so to Warwick to see William Dewsbury. One thing is remarkable upon William's inquiry what way I came? In my account of the particular towns and places I had passed through, I mentioned Coventry, which was the last and the worst: for some of the rude people flung stones at me as I was speaking in the meeting, with great violence, so that had the Lord suffered them to have hit me, they must have spoiled me; but my faith in the Lord and the strength of the Truth bore up my mind above fear of the outward man or what wicked men could do to me. After William had heard my account, he fixed his eyes on me and said, Thou must go back again to Coventry. I appeared unwilling, for two reasons: first, because I thought I had cleared myself of that people; secondly, I thought it not safe to run myself into danger

of suffering, unless I was satisfied the Lord required it of me. But William was positive, and said I must go, for there was a service for me to do there. Upon a deliberate consideration of the matter, and a seeking to the Lord to know His will in it, I found my way clear to go, and I had some service and good satisfaction, and left Friends nearer to one another than when I first met with them; for there had been a misunderstanding amongst some Friends in that city: so I came from thence to Tamworth, were there was a difference, especially betwixt two Friends; both of them had been such as had made some considerable figure among Friends. I felt it upon me to go to the man, to warn him of the spirit of prejudice and envy, for if he gave way to it, it would eat out his love to Friends and Truth, and he would decline meetings and come to nought, and turn his back on the Truth; which came to be fulfilled, as I afterwards heard, for he became a loose man, and enlisted himself to be a soldier. I was zealous for the name of the Lord, and had a great concern upon my mind for the promulgation of the Truth, and where I met with loose professors of the Truth, it was a great exercise to me.

When I returned home from this, and indeed from all my journeys, I took care what I well could, so far as my weak body was capable, to fall into business, and not to loiter away my time, neither abroad nor at home. My weak constitution would not well bear the weaving-trade, therefore I left it much against my will; but I wrought upon clock and watch work, and many other things, which supplied my necessities, the Lord allowing me as much time at home as put me in a condition reasonably fit for travel, and then I was inclined to go to visit Friends. Many things I omit, because I am not willing to swell my account too much. I travelled through most parts of Eng-

land four times, and twice through most parts of Wales, between the twentieth and twenty-eighth year of my age.

After the Lord had opened my heart, and I came in part to understand the Holy Scriptures, and to have a feeling of that Holy Spirit in which the holy penmen wrote them, and a sympathy with the spirits and exercises of the righteous therein mentioned, I took great delight in reading them, and having a good memory, could thereby the better deal with priests and with professors. I had many disputes and reasonings with priests and professors, of several denominations, both in Yorkshire and other parts in my travels, so that, through these disputes and much reading, my mind was rather too much in the letter, and not altogether so much in spirit and in power as it should have been; for which I met with a gentle caution from the Lord, which was thus: I heard a voice (from the Lord) as plain as if one had spoke to my outward ear, The fowls of the air lodge in the branches. This being repeated to me, I besought the Lord to show me what was the meaning of that voice which I heard; and the Lord, the mighty God, showed me in His condescending love, that the Scriptures, even all of them which were written as the holy men were moved of the Holy Ghost, sprung from the living root; yet those who rested only in the letter, and came not to be acquainted with, and live in, and minister from the same Holy Spirit, are outward, dead, dry, airy, and foolish. This gentle check was of great service to me; not so as to make me decline reading the Scriptures, but that I should not have overmuch dependency on them; and to caution me against the neglect of waiting for the help of the Holy Spirit, the root and pure spring of the right and living ministry which reaches the heart, and carries the true evidence with it to the believers

that it is of God; which that of the letter cannot do of itself. I tenderly desire that all concerned in this great work of the ministry may not be ministers of the letter only, but of the Spirit also, and may speak in the demonstration of the Spirit and of power. And let him that speaketh, speak as the oracle of God; and he that ministereth, do it as of the ability that God giveth. This is the last and lasting ministry, which is after the order of Melchisedeck, and not after the order of Aaron, but in Jesus Christ the High Priest, the One offering, which makes perfect for ever all who come to him through the drawings of the Father,—he is the one Lord, and there is but one true faith in him, and but one true and saving baptism into him, or into the likeness of his death: so as Christ died for sin, we may truly die to sin; and as he was raised by the glory of the Father, so we may walk in newness of life,—the heavenly High Priest, holy, harmless, separate from sinners; and such a High Priest who was tempted, and knows how to succour such as are tempted: he is the Advocate with the Father, the Propitiation for the Sins of all, the true Guide and Comforter, the Leader of them into all Truth who obey and follow him; although to the world a Reprover and a Swift Witness against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men.

My writing thus, from this gentle check, concerning the fowls and the branches, etc., is not with the least intention either to lessen the Holy Scriptures, or discourage any from reading them; for I would have all true Christians encouraged to be more conversant in them; yet with this advice, kind reader, from thy well-wisher and true friend, to breathe to and truly seek after the Lord for a measure of His holy and blessed Spirit, the only key and best expositor to open and truly expound them to thee, as

by the same Holy Spirit thy mind and understanding comes to be fitted and enlightened. And indeed the whole vessel must be brought into a preparation to hold the heavenly treasure, and not to mix the pure with the corrupt and impure; for without this enlightening, preparing, opening, and sanctifying gift of God's Holy Grace and Spirit, man can neither know the heavenly power of God, nor yet the Holy Scriptures aright, as he ought to know them; and for this reason it hath seemed good to God to hide these things from the learned, wise, and prudent of this world, that they should not pry into, nor find out the mysteries contained therein, unless they are sanctified and called of God thereto; and as no man knows the things of a man, save the spirit of a man that is in him, likewise the things of God are not perceivable by man without the help of the Holy Spirit of God in man.

Thus the Lord opened to me the true meaning of the parable of the mustard-seed in this the time of my infancy as to the ministry, with which He sent me forth into the world, that my faith might stand in the Lord alone, the author and finisher, as well as giver of the true and saving faith, even that faith which works by love, and gives victory over the world: it was by and through the power, virtue, and efficacy of true faith, which is the gift of God, that the elders in former ages obtained, and now do obtain a good report; it was in and through this gift, that worthy Abel with his offering was accepted of God, although he was envied of his earthly and evil-minded brother Cain, and also by him slain. The ever memorable Enoch, through the virtue of this holy gift, walked with God, as Himself gave witness that Enoch pleased Him: he walked so in faith and obedience even to the end, that he died not as men in common do, but was translated, or changed

in a peculiar manner. Come, read thou that canst, and understand thou that art redeemed out of (and hath overcome) the flesh and the powers of the first nature, the world and the devil, in a great measure, for thou knowest that it is by the operation of this gift that the dead in old Adam are raised to a new life and way of living in the new man; and through this heavenly Adam, that is known to these to be a quickening spirit, agreeable to holy writ. Through faith the violence of fire was quenched, the mouths of lions have been stopped, the sword turned backward, the armies put to flight, even such as were aliens or strangers who outwardly fought against the Lord's people; which sets before us as in a glass, how and what we are to overcome in this gospel-day, in which we are not to fight with men, but with our lusts, and overcome sin and Satan; which is as great a victory as he obtained that overcame the rampant lions, who had dominion over the wicked, as sin and Satan have power and dominion over the wicked and ungodly to this day. Consider now in time, thou that readest these lines, whether Christ or Antichrist doth most predominate in thee? whether Grace or Sin most abound in thy mortal body? whether the Spirit of Truth, that leads into all Truth, or the spirit of Error, that leads into all Error and Untruth, is the most prevalent, and hath the greatest place in thy heart? For to him whom thou art the most subject and yields thy members servants to, his servant thou art, and to him thou givest way and subjects thyself, and his servant thou wilt altogether come to be in time, and the wages due to his servants thou shalt have given to thee at the end of thy work; therefore consider in due time, while the day of thy visitation is continued unto thee, and the Lord is following and calling by His secret and inward checks and reproof, by which He dis-

quiets thy mind, that although thou mayest take some pleasure in vanity and wrong ways, when thou canst get over the just witness of God in thy own soul, yet while it strives with thee to convert and gather thee up out of earthly and fading pleasures, to have thy mind set upon heavenly things and take pleasure in them, thou wilt have no solid comfort in all thy lower enjoyments, but condemnation and anguish of soul will attend thee, until thou either gets over the witness or leaves the evil, is the experience of the Lord's people, who have been acquainted with the true and inward warfare, and also with the saints' victory. Read, and learn to follow Christ by the footsteps of the flocks of his companions, although it be through great tribulations, yet it is the way to have thy garments washed and made white in the mystical blood of the immaculate Lamb of God. This is he, as John the Baptist said, that taketh away the sins of the world. Happy is every one that truly putteth on his Lamb-like nature, his humility, righteousness, and purity, and is covered with his Holy Spirit, and lives and walks in and under the influence and conduct thereof to the end of time here, until we enter into immutability.

Now to return from this digression to the historical part. When I had travelled much of the time between my going forth, which was from about the nineteenth year of my age unto about the twenty-seventh, then finding some little respite from the weight of that service, I inclined to settle a little closer to business, but had little to begin any calling with, being necessitated to leave my trade of weaving through lameness, as before mentioned, and I had been a sojourner some time at Whitby, Scarborough, and Bridlington; but upon seeking unto the Lord to know what place I might now settle in, though my great inclination

was for Whitby, yet it sounded as in my ear, Bridlington, Bridlington is the place to settle in; and in the cross I repaired thither and settled for some time, keeping a little shop and mended clocks and watches, as I had done for several years past at times. It was of good service my settling there, for the Lord began to work mightily, especially amongst the young Friends, so that in a few years many had their mouths opened in testimony for the Lord, and a fine spring of heavenly ministers was in that Monthly-meeting, the like I have not known in the like bounds, (for it is but a small Monthly-meeting, and hath been so ever since I knew it). For Truth did so mightily prosper, and Friends grew so in the ministry, that it became a proverb, that Bridlington was become a school of prophets. This mighty work of the Lord in these days, is worthy to be chronicled and remembered among His many worthy and noble acts. We had many heavenly and good meetings, praised and renowned be the worthy name of the Lord, now and for ever.

We had but little discipline when I first settled in that place, but afterwards many Friends' hearts were stirred up in a holy zeal for the Lord, not only to promote meetings for worship, but also for good discipline in the church, and they began to see a necessity of coming up more in the practice of this very needful work; although there were some that said, They could see no need of such close order and discipline: yet I found it to be my way in the Truth to bear with such, if they were not irregular in their conversations; but if they were disorderly, we dealt with them as the Lord opened our way in the wisdom of Truth; and thus bearing with the easiness of some on the one hand, and encouraging the faithful and zealous on the other, way was made, beyond my expectation, for the spreading

of the Truth, its testimony, and the discipline thereof in those parts.

I had now travelled and laboured much in the Lord's work at home and abroad for about ten years, but had not in all that time found my way clear to marry, although not without some likely opportunity, and with such as were a great deal richer than she was whom I did marry; but I was afraid in this weighty affair to miss my way, knowing the great difference there is between them who only profess, and they who possess the Truth, and them that are only in the first nature and unregenerated state (and strictly speaking, but the sons and daughters of men), and such who are born again, not of flesh and blood, nor indeed of any thing that is corruptible, but of that incorruptible Seed and living Word of God, which leads into a lively hope and brings forth a new and heavenly birth in man, that takes delight to please and obey the Lord in all things, and so become sons, or children of God, in a more spiritual and nearer relation than that of creation only; it is in and through this great work of renovation, and being born again; and as such live up to that Holy Seed and regenerating principle, and as the same doth predominate and rule in man, in this state man cannot sin, as the Apostle said, with this reason annexed, because His Seed (to wit, the Seed of God) remaineth in him. Thus, walking in the Light, and living in the Seed, Grace, and Holy Spirit, (although the terms of it differ, the virtue and nature of it are undividable) such who come to be gathered to walk with and truly love Christ, the bridegroom of the soul, are brought into a greater nearness, truer sympathy, and unity of spirit than the world knows of. Read this, you that are born again, and duly consider it in its proper time and place. I believe, and therefore

truly speak it, the Lord gave me such a wife as really feared Him, loved Truth and righteousness, and all such as she thought loved, and especially such as lived in the Truth. Her name was Priscilla Cannaby, daughter of James Cannaby: she was descended of an honest family in the east part of Yorkshire, the only child her parents left, they were bakers by trade, and gave her a commendable education, though they did not leave her any great portion. She was under the care of her uncle Charles Cannaby, of Bridlington, an honest Friend, who left something behind him in manuscript concerning his convincement of the Truth, and sufferings for the same: he was convinced early, lived to a great age, and was a man of great service in those parts where he lived.

I was in the twenty-eighth year of my age when I married my wife, who was a woman of an excellent temper, very affectionate, sober, and prudent, loved retirement much and waiting upon the Lord, and the enjoyment of His internal and living presence, and especially with the Lord's people, that they might also be made partakers with her of the like special favours,—this was as her crown and kingdom while in this world, even from her childhood; and to see Friends prosper in the Truth was matter of great rejoicing to her. When we had been married scarce three years, the Lord raised her up to bear a public testimony amongst Friends in their meetings, which was very comfortable and acceptable to them; and also she had the Spirit of grace and supplication measurably poured upon her, so that many with me did believe she had access to the throne of God, and to that River which maketh truly glad the City of God. She always freely gave me up to answer the service I believed the Lord called for of me. She was taken from me when we had been married but

about five years, in the twenty-eighth year of her age, and died in a sweet frame of mind and was sensible to the last; and her last words were, He is come, He is come, whom my soul loves, and my soul rejoices in God my Saviour, and my spirit magnifies Him,—and so passed away like a lamb, I believe, into a mansion of glory, where her innocent soul will for ever sing Hallelujah to the Lord God and the Lamb, who is worthy of glory, honour, salvation, and strength, now and for ever.

I might enlarge much upon the virtue and worthiness of faithful Priscilla, but in this, as in other matters, it is my desire to avoid prolixity, yet would take notice of the most remarkable occurrences that have happened to me in the course of this my earthly pilgrimage; also, I have been much pressed by some, and not of the least of my faithful brethren (likewise, I believe it to be my duty), to leave some remains to posterity for their encouragement and comfort in the way and work of the Lord. One thing is worthy here to be inserted, which had a strange and astonishing effect upon my mind, which was thus:—

As I was walking in a plain field in the fore part of the day, not far from the sea, betwixt Bridlington and Broynton, my soul was in a deep concern, and at that time exercised in meditation on the things of God, and also in fervent prayers to Him for preservation from every hurtful thing, and a heavenly frame my mind was then brought into, for then I neither saw cloud over my mind nor yet any in the firmament, for it appeared to me a morning without clouds, though I had passed under many clouds. Soon after my mind was brought into this heavenly frame, and as it were swallowed up in the heavenly and internal presence of the Lord, I thought a bright cloud came down and covered me, or caught me up into it,

so whether I was standing, walking, or set upon the ground, or carried up into the cloud in the body, or out of the body, I know not to this day; yet fear and reverence, with bowing of soul, did possess me before the Great Majesty, at the glory of whose countenance, as I had it in a preceding vision, men and angels fled and gave way, and could not steadfastly behold the brightness and glory of the countenance of the Son of the Highest, with the mighty God and Father, which are one in power, greatness, goodness, and glory, who was before all things, made all things, and uphold and fill all things that are good with that which is truly good, or at least is for a good end. Read this mystery thou that canst, and learn to fear Him that hath power over both soul and body, to kill and to cast into hell, for one time or another He will make thee fear Him, when He brings thy sins to judgment, whether it be now or hereafter. The time hath been, is, or will be, in which the Lord, the Judge of both quick and dead, hath, doth, or will plead with thee and all flesh, as in the valley of Jehosaphat; therefore beware lest thou make Him wroth, as He was upon Mount Perizim; but be thou subject to the Lord, as faithful Moses was upon Mount Horeb, or the Mount of God, when he obeyed His voice, and put off his shoes,—do thou obey, if it be but to the putting away of the glory and wisdom of Egypt, or learning, or what else is required of thee. Oh! then thou art in the way to further service, and wilt be enabled, as thou continues faithful, to go through all to God's glory, and thy unspeakable peace in the end.

Now as to the last part of the rapture or vision, when I was swallowed up in the luminous presence of Him that is first and last, the Alpha and Omega, I heard a voice, very intelligible to that sensation I had then given me,

saying, Dost thou see how pride and wickedness abound in the nation? I answered in much fear, Lord, I do see it. The next words which I heard in the voice and in the cloud were, The people are too many,—I will thin them,—I will thin them,—I will thin them. I desired of the Lord to show me whether it was His mind I should publish this in any part of the nation? The South was set before me, with this caution, Where this is opened to thee in My power, there speak of it, and not otherwise. I gave up to answer the heavenly vision, and visited most parts of the southern counties, as also the northern parts, and Scotland; and where the Lord opened my mouth to speak of what I had heard, as before, by way of prophecy, I gave up, but did not so much insist upon that matter as to suffer it to be a means to mislead me from that work of the ministry I was chiefly concerned in. I would that all who are concerned in the like manner may be cautious in this great affair, and look well to the rise and original from whence they receive this gift, and how; and also what frame of mind they are in; and that nothing of the warmth of their own spirits be set to work or stirred up, either by sight of the eye, or hearing, or reading outwardly, but that the mind may be redeemed from all workings, from these and the like grounds, and purely purged, and truly adapted or fitted to receive this gift or spirit of prophecy; and also be sure to be very careful to be guidable in the gift, or otherwise thou mayest miss as to time and place, etc. I intend not to dwell long upon it, as there are other services included in this of prophecy, as edification and comfort, etc., but what I have been upon, relates to foretelling something that is to come; and, as once a worthy elder said to me, when I was young in the ministry, It is a great thing to know *what*, *where*, and *when;* and I have ever

found it true to this day. Learn of him that is (as he always was) meek and low of heart, and be not discouraged, but persevere in faith and sincerity; and look not overmuch at the difficulty, but look over all to Him who hath called thee, and in some measure revealed His Son through the Spirit in thee. Although I know from some experience what it is to be exercised in the matter of prophecy, for in the journey touched of before, I was concerned to tell Friends at Kilmouck, in Scotland, especially, that the Lord would take many of them away; which in a short time came to pass, for many died before that time twelve-month, it being a time of scarcity of corn, and it was thought many died for want of bread the year ensuing my being there. I had good service for the Lord and great satisfaction in these my long travels, as I had in the like before, in divers of which there were some convinced of Truth.

At Cromer, in Norfolk, one Elizabeth Horry, when my mouth was opened, despised my youth, as she confessed afterwards; but what I had to say so reached her condition, that she shed many tears upon her fine silks, and confessed, before the meeting broke up, that all might hear, in these words, All that ever I have done hath been told me this day, and this is the everlasting Truth. And as I passed along from that meeting, not far from Cromer, with some other Friends, it rose in my heart to say aloud, that a man who was watering his horse might hear, looking and pointing my hand toward him, That man will be a Friend before he dies; and, as he owned after, he was so struck with it, that he had no rest till he came among Friends, though he was then afar off, but he came to be a serviceable man among us, and his wife was also convinced of the Truth and was a serviceable woman. Samuel Hunt,

of Nottingham, was first reached at Leicester by the testimony I had given me to bear in that meeting at that time, as he acknowledged afterwards; but I always gave God the glory, and laid the creature as in the dust, that man, as man, might not be too much accounted of.

After my being caught up, and hearing the voice (as before mentioned), I had many deep and heavenly openings, some of which it may not be amiss to mention here, inasmuch as I had now a more clear sight into a translated state than ever I had before. I came, through a divine sense and participation, to have great sympathy and dear unity, not only with the ever memorable Enoch, whose walking was such that the Lord gave testimony or witness to, that he pleased Him,—the ground of which witness was from hence, he lived near and loved God, and walked in the ways of virtue and abhorred vice,—but also with the Apostle, having this seal, That God knoweth who are His; and with some other of the servants of Christ in former ages, who could say, as some now can say (from true experience), That the Spirit of the Lord beareth witness with our spirits, that we are His, to wit, the Lord's children, so long as we do well; which last words are of large extent, to do well, think well, speak well, and believe well; for he that hath no faith, or that believes ill, cannot do well; he that eats, drinks, or wears that which he knows he ought not, doth not well; but what is done well, is done in a pure mind and clean conscience, for so is true faith held, and all acceptable work to God performed. I had great openings into the removal of Moses, and taking up Elijah, that great and worthy prophet, from the earth into heaven, and I have seen things not fit to be uttered, neither can the world yet believe them; and I saw far into the mystery of the transfiguration of Christ, and appear-

ance of Moses and Elias with him upon the Mount; and the voice which was heard from the excellent glory, This is my beloved Son, hear him: not Moses nor Elias in comparison of him, for the law pointed to him, and was as a school-master to bring to him. The holy prophets foresaw and prophesied of his coming, and John the Baptist saw Christ and baptized him, and bore witness of him as the Light, and said, Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world. He also said, He is the bridegroom that hath the bride (the Church): he spoke of his own decrease, and unworthiness in comparison of Christ, though called by Christ himself as great a prophet as was ever born of a woman; and he was also called Elias, which much first come, and is already come. In respect of power, knowledge, boldness, and faithfulness he was as Elias, yet the least in the kingdom of Christ was greater than he, because the power, and glorious kingdom, and gospel-dispensation was not fully brought in and restored to Israel, or those who should believe in him, until his ascension; but now these great agents in these foregoing dispensations all passed away, with their figurative, prophetical, and elementary dispensations, and gave place to the Son and Heir of all things, the Messiah, the great Prophet, Bishop, Shepherd, King, and Lawgiver.

Now read these things, and learn truly to understand how Moses passed away and Elias passed away, and Christ is left, who is able alone to perfect the work of man's redemption, who trod the wine-press alone, and amongst all the sons of men none were with him or helped him: he came who was the antitype of all types gone before; he, Christ, is come to remove the covenant made before, because of the weakness and imperfection thereof, which covenant made not the comers thereto perfect, but the

better hope brought in by Christ, did; so this covenant is abundantly more excellent which was brought in by Christ, and settled and established upon better promises than that was or could be by the blood of bulls, goats, and the ashes of an heifer, which reached the outside only; but in the second or new covenant there is the blood which sprinkleth the heart from an evil conscience, so that such may be fitted and qualified to serve the living God, not in the works of the old covenant, but in the newness of the Holy Spirit. This is he that, as to his divinity and eternity, was before the hills were settled, and the seas and fountains were made, that took delight to dwell with the sons of men, or in the habitable parts of the earth. As he was a Spirit or Word uncreated, he dwelt measurably in Abel, Seth, Enoch, and Noah before the flood; for by his spirit God strove with the old world to reclaim them from their wickedness, when it was great: it was by this spirit Noah was made a preacher of righteousness, and instructed how to build the ark. This is he who was with Shem and Japheth, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph, and all the faithful Fathers after the flood,—the foundation of all the righteous, prophets, apostles, and martyrs, such as loved and believed in him, and suffered for his name's sake and the testimony which they held. This is he that despised the glory of this world, and is lifted up a standard to the people and an ensign to the nations; unto him shall the Gentiles seek, and his rest shall be glorious: he hath lifted up a greater rod than that of Moses, sometimes called the Rod of Iron, by which he hath, and I believe will break to pieces many people as a potter's vessel, when the sin and iniquity of the people is come to the height; it was he that turned the waters of Egypt into blood; it was he that slew the first-born throughout all the land of Egypt,—he over-

threw the Egyptians, and brought forth Israel by a strong hand and an arm outstretched. After he had marked the dwellings of his people, and spared them in the time of this great slaughter, which was executed both upon man and beast, to wit, the first-born in Egypt, then he became Israel's passover. Read these things (that were typically done, and in an outward way) inwardly, and in thine own experience, that thou mayest say, and that truly, Christ is my passover, after he has mitigated thy sore bondage, and in degree hath given thee faith in his great name, and has caused thee to love him, and made thee willing to follow him, although it be through the sea of troubles, and sometimes as through the wilderness. Here is an eating of the heavenly passover, or Paschal Lamb, under the influence of the pure love of God, that is spread or displayed over the soul like a canopy, or banner; here is the heavenly manna, the true body to feed on, that yields true nourishment and solid comfort to thy soul, in this thy travel toward the heavenly country: here is the substance of the Scapegoat known, that beareth away the sins of the people, for he bore our iniquities, and through his stripes were we healed; on his part there wants nothing, but on man's, faith in, and obedience to Christ. He is the substance or antitype of the brazen serpent, which was lifted up in the wilderness to cure the peoples' ailments, occasioned by the serpents; he is the Advocate with the Father, as John said, to encourage little children in that time, which I think may very well be applied to all in that state until time here shall be no more. Happy is every one that heareth, obeyeth, and reverenceth the Son and Heir of all things in his spiritual appearance in the heart, where he speaks to the conditions of the children of men, as never man spoke, and to much better purpose than ever

man could do: this is he that spoke to the Fathers by the prophets, who in these times doth speak to us in or by His Son; so take heed to his spiritual appearance in the heart, for there must the work of our salvation be perfected, after sin is purged out, and the guilt thereof taken away. To such death is easy, where sin, the sting of death, is taken away, having a part in Christ, the first-born of many brethren, and resurrection from the dead; I say, having a part in him that is the resurrection indeed, and the life; over such the second death (which is a perpetual separation from the heavenly presence of God, and company of holy angels) shall have no power. I now leave, I think, this not unprofitable digression, and return to the more historical part, where one thing, I think, is worthy of insertion here, viz:—

In my young years, I was very much afflicted in my travels, upon taking cold, with a sore throat, that I could scarce speak so as to be heard, and had much trouble at times to swallow any thing which nature did require; and in one journey northward, in Truth's service, coming to Hawkshead, and sitting in the meeting under no small exercise with the trouble aforesaid, not without some reasonings and conflicts of spirits, having left all, as I believed, to do what the Lord required of me, and yet I apprehended myself, by means of this affliction, not likely to be of any service; and after some reasonings, and a fervent seeking to the Lord to know the cause of this great trouble, and withal to bring my mind to a true resignation to the will of God in this, and in all the trials the Lord might see good in His wisdom to exercise me in,—I had not been long brought into this devoted and resigned state, to be and do what the Lord would have me do, but oh! I felt of the virtue of Christ as a sweet and living spring, by which

I was healed. I was, and am to this day (when I remember the Lord's kind dealings with me) very thankful to Him.

It has been frequently observable, that the Lord leads His servants through many states, that they, having the experience thereof, may be the more capable of helping others in the like straits. It is an excellent thing to love and truly believe in Jesus Christ, and keep self down as in the dust for ever.

CHAPTER II.

Requirements of Truth—Is Concerned to Visit America—Sails from London—Preservation—Safe Arrival a Cause of Thankfulness—Dream—Its Fulfillment—Edward Thomas—Priestly Rapacity—Opposition—Truth Triumphant—Objections Answered—Boston—Ill-behaviour of the People—Thomas Maulham—Accident—Meeting at Rhode Island.

Now the time came on for my going into America, having had a sight of it about ten years before; I also acquainted my wife therewith about a year before she died, and I found it was likely to be a very near trial to her. She was a virtuous, good woman, but was taken away, and left me three small children, the eldest not above four years old, the youngest not much above one month old, and I having but little of this world, reasoned much about going, thinking my circumstances at present might excuse me,—my intentions were good in it, that I might not leave things any way to the dishonour of the Truth. My innocent young child was taken away when about a year old; and soon after, where ever I went, while I was awake, it sounded in my ears several days and nights, Now is the time, now is the time,—my other two children, Providence so ordered it, that they were placed to mine and Friends' satisfaction. I went through many provings that no man knew of, but I believe, when I am gathered to my place, I shall leave many brethren behind me yet in mutability, that will read my lines in their own experience. I would not have any to misunderstand me, for as to my

outward circumstances, I left no debt, neither was I in a way of going backward in the world; for ever after I received the knowledge of the Truth, I could not see what pretence I could have to religion, if any should lose by me. I have often said, and been hearty in my intentions, That rather than Truth should suffer on that score, I would live upon bread and water, and wear very mean clothes, and work very hard if I were able, and upon any mean, if but lawful calling. It hath been matter of wonder to me how any, that appear to carry any pretensions to religion, dare run such great ventures, sometimes beyond their own bottoms or abilities,—which to me hath always appeared an unwarrantable risk,—and, as I apprehend, pride and ostentation is much the occasion of it, which are much against Truth, and men are no better for their greatness; for the more plain, and the more humble we are, the more we resemble humble Jesus and his religion, which he laboured to inculcate. If any are lifted up, or aspire above their place, let them consider well the foregoing paragraph.

Now I must leave my little children, and my very near friends, and my native country, and all for Christ and the gospel's sake, without any sinister end or view; and then I appealed to the Lord, in the simplicity of my heart, that He knew I was willing to be at His disposal, and what He had favoured me with I could leave to Him; yet whether what I had was sufficient to defray mine and my two little ones necessary charges was somewhat in my way; and to satisfy me in this doubt, the Lord's voice sounded exceeding clear to that sensation I was then endued with, saying, Go and be faithful, and I will bless thee every way. Oh! my heart seemed to me to melt, and my spirit to dissolve within me, and I said, Good is the word of the Lord: Thou hast not failed me in any of my great straits and trials to

this day. I have great cause to trust in Thee; renowned be Thy most excellent name, now and for ever.

I parted from my friends with much brokenness of heart, and set forward on my journey toward London, in order to take shipping there, the 11th of the Eighth month, 1700; when I with my companions, Thomas Thompson, Josiah Langdale, and John Estaugh, with some other Friends, went on board a ship in the river Thames. We had not been long there, having considered our freedom about going in the ship, when it opened clearly in my mind, in the Light, that I must not go in that vessel; and I said to the Friends, I could not go in her, for I saw nothing but death and darkness there. The account of what afterwards happened to the ship I had from two particular Friends, in two several letters from London to America, wherein they expressed a thankfulness for our deliverance, and magnified that Hand which wrought it and preserved us from going in that ship, which was lost near the Islands of either Jersey or Guernsey, and, as it was said, about seventy people were drowned.

Peradventure I may mention some things that may appear to be of but little moment, but I have seen a Divine Providence attend terrene affairs, although they may appear of little consequence to some; such as do not duly consider these things, may make a wrong application; and as the course of my travels hath afforded variety of trials and transactions which are in some things very particular, from whence ariseth variety of accounts, so there hath been a willingness in my mind to favour some who have been desirous of having me to leave a journal of my life, which I have complied with, as far as I can see my way clear in the Truth.

Then we went on board of another ship, called the

Arundel, Splenden Rand, master, in which we embarked the 17th of the Ninth month, 1700, and after many storms and much sea-sickness, not without some conflicts of spirit more than I am free to express, and a long passage, being near fifteen weeks upon the sea, we arrived in the river Patuxent, in Maryland, as near as I remember, the 5th or 6th of the First month, 1701; and my heart was glad, and filled with acknowledgments and praises to the Lord, for bringing us safe over the mighty waters.

Now we left the ship and master, who was but a churlish, ill-natured man. I was very weak and low when I landed, both in body and mind; but the Lord helped me, and made my journeys and labours comfortable to many, as well as to my own soul. After the first or second meeting we were at, John Estaugh being now my companion, as we came near a great house in Maryland, I espied a little white horse, the sight of which put me in mind of a dream I had on board the ship before I landed, in which I thought I got a little white horse which carried me well, and many miles. I said to the Friends with me, Let us call here at this house, which we did, and upon inquiry about a horse, the man said, He had none but a little white young Galloway, as he called it, which he was willing to sell, and withal told us, it carried him one day forty miles, and asked eight pounds sterling for it, and I bid him five pounds sterling; the man's wife coming up the passage, heard what I had offered, and she said to her husband, it is enough. So I had him, and a good horse he proved and carried me, by a moderate computation, four thousand miles. I took this, according to the nature of it, to be a singular favour from that great Hand which led me forth, and hitherto hath preserved me in the land of the living to praise His ever worthy name.

Now we set forward toward Virginia and North Carolina, and found great openness in these two provinces amongst the people, and a tender-hearted remnant of Friends scattered abroad in these wilderness countries. Although, as I said before, I was brought very low, yet the Lord, in whom I did, and yet do believe and put my trust, raised me, and filled many times my heart with His Word and testimony, so that sometimes it went forth as a flame of fire amongst the loose libertines, who were proud and unfaithful, yet professors of the Truth, and we had many large and good meetings. One thing is worthy of notice: as I was speaking in a meeting in Virginia, a sudden stop came upon me, and occasioned me to say, I cannot go forward; whatsoever the matter may be, I know not. But giving over immediately, a Friend, whose name was Edward Thomas, began to preach, who was but young in the ministry, although an elderly man, and apt to be attended with reasonings; but as he said after the meeting, he had sought to the Lord with prayers, that He would condescend so far to his request as to give me a sense of him, and in so doing he would take that as a great strength and confirmation to his ministry, in this the day of his many exercises and great fears, or much to the same effect. Thus we see the Lord in His great mercy condescends to the low, weak, and, as it were, infant states of His children like a tender father, and being our heavenly High Priest, is touched with the feeling of the infirmities of His people: thanksgiving and honour be given to His most excellent name, now and for ever.

During our stay in Virginia, one remarkable passage occured, which it may not be amiss to insert here, and the case was thus: I being at a Friend's house, an ancient widow, in order to go to the meeting, observed, as I sat in

the house, several persons of note come into the yard (a store-house being near) to make, as appeared afterwards, a seizure for rates for the government and priest,—they not being distinctly charged, but a mixed rate, occasions Friends in those parts to be straitened about the payment of them. I, observing the priest to be there and appear very busy, asked, What he was come about? The Friend replied, They were come to make distress for the forty pounds per poll, as they phrase it, which is forty pounds of tobacco, payable for every taxable head (*i.e.* all above fifteen years old). There were, along with the priest, the sheriff and constable for the government, and divers merchants of note as spectators. I, understanding the reason of their coming, stepped out to the priest, who seemed a topping brisk man, his temper in this case not unsuitable to his name, which was Sharp; and being come to him, I desired him to be careful how he devoured widows' houses. He briskly replied, he did not; to which I as closely returned, that I found he did. He denied my assertion, and said, The government gave him what he demanded and took; to which I gave the following answer: Inasmuch as he did not any thing for the widow, for which he reasonably might require a reward, I believed the government would not insist upon it for him, if he would be willing to drop it, which in common equity I thought he should. The priest, displeased with this modest reply, tartly answered, You are no Christians. I told him, The charge was high, and false, and he might more easily affirm than prove it; wherefore I put the question, and asked him, Why we were so charged by him? To which he returned this insignificant answer, That we denied part of the divinity of Christ. I told him, He was a novice, and receded in his opinion from most of his brethren, seeing it was a general reflection cast on us

by most of his fraternity, that we owned the divinity of Christ, but denied his manhood, which was false also; therefore I demanded of him, to prove what part of the divinity of Christ we denied; in which, if he failed, I should look upon him as a false accuser, and those present would, I hoped, be my witnesses: but he shuffled and declined answering, though I urged him as much as possible; and to cut the matter off, he asked, Whence I came? The sheriff bid him give me a verse in Greek; I told them, I mattered not meddling in that, for as the English tongue was best understood by those present, therefore I thought it would be best to keep it. I told him, I was of Old England; but still reminded him of his proving his assertion, which I looked for from him; but instead of that, he asked, What part of Old England I came from? I told him, Yorkshire; and bid him produce his proofs, as before urged; but he still evading the matter, desired to know from what place? I told him I was born at North Cave; and, said he, I was born at South Cave, and my father was minister there many years; his name was Sharp, and there is but a mile difference betwixt those places. I said, it was a long one. No sooner was this over, but the priest, transported with my being his countryman, began hugging me to such a degree, that I was quite ashamed of him. When I had, not without some difficulty, got clear of his embraces, I asked him, If he esteemed himself a minister of Christ? He answered, Yea, and lawfully called thereto. I told him, If he was a gospel-minister, as the gospel was free, so should his ministry be free; and turning to the people there present, I told them, I would not have them deceived, for they might understand he only possessed his place by virtue of a law in that case provided, and his call and ordination was only such as had been transferred upon

him for a fee, which made him require pay for what he did, and indeed where he did nothing, which was highly unfair; wherefore they might upon consideration find he was but a minister of the letter, which was dead, and not a minister of the Spirit and Divine Power: from which he offered not to clear himself, though I urged him thereto. Then I asked him, Which of those odious characteristics the false ministers were branded with and deciphered by in the New Testament, he could clear himself of? which I then enumerated to him. The sheriff said, It was so; and withal said, Mr. Sharp, answer the man, for the question is very rational; and you ought to answer him, and for honour sake clear yourself of those odiums if you can. But he would not offer to meddle with it; wherefore I told him, To mind for the future not to charge any man or people with more than he could be sure to prove; for it was highly scandalous. It being now meeting time, I asked him to go thither; but he refusing, said, He durst not; so we parted.

Having visited Friends here, we returned back for Maryland and Pennsylvania, and a great many we found who loved to hear the testimony and doctrines of Truth, but too few there were who took up the cross daily and followed Christ in the way of self-denial, and knew the thorough work of regeneration, so as to have their garments washed and made white in the mystical blood of the Lamb. These are not polluted with the sins and iniquities of the world, who have experienced this blood to sprinkle the heart from an evil conscience. These are capable of serving the living God; and coming from the laver or pool that truly washes, there is none unfruitful, but every one bearing twain, and they are inwardly clean and fruitful to God and walk with Him, whose bright and

shining lives are also fruitful to the world that will receive them. Read this, thou that hast known something of the work of conversion, and consider the great difference there is between the bright lives of the virtuous and the dull and cloudy lives of the vicious, and be sure thou look well which of these thou most resemblest in thine.

Now when we came into Pennsylvania, my companion before mentioned, whom I loved well, told me he must go back to Virginia: it became an exercise to us both, for I could not see my way clear to go back, having been twice through that province. When no other way appeared, but we must part (for my way appeared clear for the Jerseys, Long Island, Rhode Island, and New England), I held it needful that we should, as we did, call the Friends and Elders of Philadelphia and thereabouts together, to let them know how we parted, for we parted in much love and tender-heartedness; yet notwithstanding, lest any undue reflections should be cast upon the Friends there concerning us, because of our parting, I thought these Friends would be capable of setting those things in their proper light, being witnesses thereto; so taking our leave of our dear Friends in these parts, I travelled without any companion outwardly, or constantly, but I sometimes fell into company with Elizabeth Webb and Sarah Clement, who were virtuous women and lived near the kingdom, and were of good service in their travels, and grew in Truth, which while with them I was sensible of. We travelled under great care and circumspection, both for our own good, and avoiding offence, as became our places and holy possession, that in all things we might adorn the gospel of the kingdom, a dispensation of which was committed to us to preach unto others. Good service I had for the Lord, and great satisfaction in my own mind in these parts, the

Lord helping me by His mighty power through all my trials, as my heart and mind was devoted and resigned to answer his requirings.

I had great openings in several places in New England, and it appeared clear to me, and sometimes I spoke openly of it, that the Lord would gather a great people to the saving knowledge of the Truth in His time, notwithstanding what many of our Friends had suffered for the name of the Lord and testimony which they held in these parts, from the predecessors of the present inhabitants: the view of the state of these things, especially the great sufferings of many of our faithful Friends, put me in mind of that saying, that the blood of the martyrs is the Seed of the Church; and, in this case, I believe it will be fulfilled in its season.

One passage happened, which I think not fit to pass over in silence: there came into one meeting, eastward in New England, a man who was brother to a Presbyterian priest, to oppose Friends (who, as Friends said, had been often very troublesome in that meeting); in the beginning of the meeting he desired to have liberty to ask some questions. I being a stranger, and not having so much as heard of the man, nor any making reply to him, I felt liberty in the Truth to return the following answer in behalf of the meeting: That I did apprehend it was the desire of Friends, inasmuch as the meeting was appointed for the worship of God, and not for asking of questions or controversies, that the chief part should first be answered; and I also thought the meeting would be willing, in the conclusion, to give him liberty to ask the questions, if his intent therein was for information or satisfaction, and not for contention. Friends were silent, and the man submitted to what was proposed, and a good meeting we had, the

Lord's heavenly power and living presence being with us, and the substance was felt among us, and exalted over all the shadows and types; and Christ, the true bread and living water, light, and life of the world, was exalted that day; and the mighty God and Father, with His beloved Son, through the help of the Holy Spirit, was glorified, who was worthy for ever. Near the conclusion of the meeting, the man began to speak well of what he had heard, particularly touching that of water-baptism, which, he said, he had nothing to object against; but as to the sacrament, as he called it, because little or nothing had been said about it, therefore he concluded, we either denied or disused it; or words to the same purport. Then I stood up and said, I did not remember the word sacrament was in all the Bible; but, I said, I supposed he meant the bread and wine. He answered, he did. I asked him, Whether he was of the same mind the Episcopal Church was of? If not of the same mind, he might say so; for they say, the bread and wine is an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace, etc.; what said he to it? He was some time silent: then I asked him, How long he thought that sign was to continue? He replied, To the end of the world. I answered, he did not read in all the Bible, that the Lord had appointed any figure or sign but what was to end in the substance, which is to be witnessed and enjoyed in this world, and not put off only to the end or conclusion thereof, as his argument seemed to declare, by his urging, that the sign of that divine substance must remain till the end of this world. I asked him, what he could answer to that? He turned off with only saying, I was too great a scholar for him, and so he would not meddle with me. He then was silent, and there being many people, I had a fine opportunity to open to the ten-

der-hearted and Friends present, how that was at best but a sign, which the people eat and drank outwardly, in remembrance of Christ's death until he came, but that I could now prove plenteously from the New Testament, that the substance, the grace was come, and urged many proofs out of the Scriptures to the same purpose: and when I had done, what I had said, so reached a good-like old man, a Presbyterian, that he confessed with tears, he had heard much said upon that subject, but had never heard it so opened before; and said, he believed I was in the right. The meeting broke up in a good frame, and Friends much rejoiced that Truth came over all, and the contentious man was silenced: and when the meeting was over, the goodly old man took me to the door, and asked me, What a man should do in case of a solemn league and covenant, he being entered into it? I told him, I needed not to direct him, for he had that in himself which would show him what he should do: for if one should make an agreement or covenant with hell and death, in the time of ignorance and darkness, and now the true light discovered it to be so; the same light which discovered and manifested it to be wrong, as he was faithful to the same, would show him how and when to break it, and every other wrong thing; to which light I recommended him, and bid him take heed to it; which, he said, he hoped he should; and so I left him with tears on his cheeks, and passed on.

I omitted one thing which happened in that part of New England, near New York and Long Island, although I was twice backward and forward, yet to be brief in my travels through those countries, intended to make one account serve, viz.—As I was speaking in a meeting, there came a great damp over my spirit, and in that time came into the meeting several men, occasioned by a topping and

great man in the world, who had given them an expectation that they should hear how he would oppose the Quakers; but in a short time Truth rose, and Friends generally heard a man say to this disputant, Why do you not speak? He hushed him with saying, The man is upon the subject which I intend to oppose them with. After some time the man was put upon again to speak to me, with a Why do not you speak? we heard him say, The man has opened the thing so as I never heard it before, and I have nothing to say. And to his own, and the wonder of his neighbours, he sat down upon a seat near the door and wept tenderly; so it was a good time to him and many more, for the Lord's mighty power was amongst us. And in my return from my journey in the east part of New England, the same great man desired me to condescend to have a meeting at his house; and after due consideration and approbation of Friends, who desired it might be so, when they knew it was his request, a meeting was appointed, and I heard there were likely to be at it a great many of the higher sort of Presbyterians of his neighbourhood.

I went to the meeting under no small concern of mind, but when I was come into the great house, I was very much affected with the wise conduct of the man, to see in what excellent order he had placed every thing, so that I could not find wherein any thing could be amended; and a heavenly meeting it was, without any opposition; and at the breaking up of the meeting, this tender man, whose heart was broken and opened by the power of Truth, said audibly, His heart and house were opened to receive me, and such as me, let all say what they would to the contrary. But what the subject-matter was at the first meeting when he came in, I forgot: it was enough that we remembered we had a good and heavenly meeting, and

were truly thankful for the same to Him who was the author thereof.

I and some other Friends being in our passage by water in a vessel bound for Rhode Island, and meeting with high and contrary winds, we put into a creek some miles distant from Rhode Island, and desired the people to procure us some horses to ride on, and we would pay them any thing that was reasonable, but hoped they would not make a prey of us, for we were strangers, and they ought to do to us as they would be done by, if they were in a strange land, as we were; and there came up to us a goodly old man, and asked us, What people we were? if we were not Quakers? I told him, We were in scorn so called, but we did not much mind names, for there was but little in them. He was a brisk talking man, and said, There was a man here lately that said he was a Quaker, and borrowed a horse, and when he was gone some miles from this place, he offered to sell the horse: I know not, said the man, but you are such. I returned this answer to the reflection: That was a great proof that we were an honest and reputable people where we were known, he might assure himself of that; for when a man is so wicked as to become a notorious cheat, he will cover himself under the best name he can think of, otherwise he might have said he was a Baptist, or a Presbyterian, or an Episcopalian, and desired you to lend him an horse; but you mind not these names, neither doth the wicked man think he can pass so well under any of these last, but under the first; and the reason of it I leave thee to judge. The old man asked no more questions, but used his endeavours to get us horses, and a man and horse to go with us, to have the horses back again, and we were well mounted; but before we set forward, the old man took me to his house and was very cour-

teous to me, for though we had spoke for some victuals in as short a time as well might be, he invited me to drink, and brought of his apples and beer, which he would have my friends to partake of; for, he said (and we found it true), it was but a poor inn. I think there was no liquor at it but brandy or rum, and water. The old man and I parted very lovingly, and I gave him a piece of money to show my gratitude for his civility and good service to us. The people looked upon us as some great wonder, for I heard one say, Are these Quakers? well, said he, they look like other people. How we had been represented, and by whom, is not hard to gather; for it is very apparent, the same spirit and the same enmity yet doth continue in some of the inhabitants of that country, which some of our Friends formerly felt the severe effects of; but they are since somewhat moderated by the government there, which is of a more mild and Christian disposition; although I am well assured, that many of the more conscientious and thinking people in those parts of the world begin to see, and many will see and understand in time, that hanging and taking away lives, for the sake of religion, is opposite to Christ, and the nature of the true religion which is wrought in man by the operation, quickenings, and indwellings of the Holy Spirit, which, as it is regarded and followed, leavens and brings the soul of man in some degree to put on the purity, heavenly image, and nature of Christ, which is love, praying for enemies, and is not for destroying, but saving lives; but how far the reverse will agree with that religion taught by Christ, and practiced by him and the apostles, I would have all seriously consider of in time.

While we were in Boston, when one of the aforementioned worthy women was declaring excellently, with both

good utterance and voice, as also good matter, as the manner of the inhabitants of Boston had been for many years to encourage, or at least to suffer, a rude mob to bawl and make a noise, so they did now, that it was hard to hear so as to understand distinctly what the Friend said, although she spoke plain and intelligibly. It did very much grieve me to see the ignorance and darkness of those high professors of religion; so that when the Friend had done, observing there appeared men of some note in the world, I requested them to hush the rabble, for I had something to say, which I desired them to make known to the governor and chief men of the town: so they soon quelled the noise. Then I told them, That in case we were erroneous, as some might insinuate we were, that was not the way to convince us of our errors, neither to bring us out of them, but rather to establish us in them; and that was not the way for them to gain proselytes, but the way to lose many from them, and increase dissenters; for what convincement could there be by noise and clamour, and hooting, as if they would split their own lungs? I had come a great way to see them, and what character could I give of them? I never thought to have seen so much folly amongst a wise and religious people as now I saw. Tell the governor and chief of the town what the old Englishman saith; for I am ashamed of such doings. It had a good effect, for when I came after, we had quiet meetings; and I understood by a letter from Daniel Zachary, of Boston, to Old England, that the Governor said, I was in the right, and ordered that peace should be kept in Friends' meetings there; and I never heard to the contrary but it is well yet as to that. We have great reason to be truly thankful to the Lord for those, and all other His mercies, that He the fountain of all good is pleased to favour us with: and as an instance

of the Lord's mercy to many poor sufferers, and to show the implacable envy of these people to Friends, the case of Thomas Maulham of Salem may suffice, in some measure, to set forth both,—who was a great sufferer in the time of hot persecution. When the persecutors had stripped him of almost all he had, their insatiable minds not content with that, they came with axes and hewed down all the apple-trees in his orchard, it being a large one, and left the stumps about the height of a man's knee, and, as Thomas Maulham said, they took the way as they thought to ruin him; but the Lord turned it into a blessing, for the trees grew to admiration, and came to bear fruit abundantly, and a finer orchard I have not seen in all my travels, for the bigness of it. Let the Lord be sanctified by all His people, and admired by all them that believe.

I with several other Friends went from Salem Yearly Meeting (which was a large and good meeting) toward Dover, and coming to a river, I staying a little behind, a Friend took my horse with two more into the boat, and by the time I came to the river-side the boat was sinking, and the ferryman made a lamentable cry, saying, The boat is sunk, and we shall be all drowned: although it was so ordered, that there was but one Friend in the boat with the boatman, and I do not remember that ever before now my horse was in any boat, and I not there; which I looked on as the mercy of a kind Providence to me, and to several other Friends in company. I hearing the noise, as before (and also the floundering of the horses when tumbling into the water), called to the men, to be sure to take care to free themselves of all the tackling of the horses, (as bridles, stirrups, etc.,) and catch hold on my horse's tail, and he would bring them both ashore; but if they trusted to the other (as before mentioned), when the horses swam, they

would fail them, unless very strong; and to have them hold by the bridle was the way to drown both horse and man. This advice was given while they had the horses in their hands: the boatman, being a lively youth, took my advice, caught hold of my horse's tail, it being long (which I ever approved of among rivers), and I calling to my horse, he came quickly with the man ashore, but left the honest old Friend, Ezekiel Waring (to whose house we intended to go that night), in the river floating to the neck, a hundred yards from the shore by computation, yet watchful Providence did so attend, that his life was preserved to a wonder; for it was so ordered, although he missed taking my advice, and caught hold of his stirrup, and the girth broke, as they are apt to do if they be tight when the horse begins to swim, which brought off the saddle and pillion, and the oar of the boat and his hat, which with the pillion-seat being in his arms, just bore his head up above water for some time. His poor wife seeing the danger to which her husband was exposed, fell into a fainting fit; (there being neither house, man, or boat to be seen on this side of the river, but ourselves, the boatman, and the stem and stern of the sunk boat full of water). A house there was on the other side of the river, which was a half-a-mile over. The ferryman did his best to get a boat or canoe, and although it began to be dark, yet he found a canoe (which is made of a fine piece of timber hollowed in the form of a boat, and generally will carry but two or three or four men): he coming near, asked if Ezekiel was alive? I told him he was, but very weak, for I had often heard him blubber in the water. I encouraged him that he might not faint in his mind, for I told him, I yet believed his life would be preserved; he would very faintly say, unless help came, he could not hold it long. I went on by the

water-side, and laid me down often on the land, not much regarding wet or dirt, sometimes tumbling over logs of wood and limbs of trees, for so it is in these uncultivated places. I directed the man with his canoe where the poor Friend was, as near as I could tell by my last observation, and withal desired he would turn the stern of his canoe to him, as he could not lift him into the canoe; neither to let him lay his hand upon the broad side of it, but upon the stern, lest he should overset it, and you be both drowned: so he did, and brought him gently ashore, to the great joy of his loving wife and us all. The boatman, as he owned, had found my counsel good, and therefore would have me tell him what he might do now. I bid him fetch the boat to shore by the fowler or rope, and then go and carry Ezekiel in the canoe to the inn on the other side of the water, that he might dry, warm, and refresh himself until we came: in the mean time we cleared the boat of water, which when done, we put two horses into it, and I towed my horse at the boat's stern to make room for several, especially the good women before mentioned, who were at this time in my company, not without their exercise any more than myself. We got well over, and then the ferryman and Friend on the other side brought the horses that were left, being three, which were enough for the boat, and proved too many the first time. We found the good old Friend finely and well recruited, and got to his house about midnight, where we were glad, and our hearts were full of praise to the Lord for this great and eminent deliverance and preservation.

In this first visit, while in Rhode Island, I met with something worthy of thy notice, if thou art such a reader as I wish thou mayest, which was thus: being in Rhode Island, several Friends came to me in some of the inter-

vals of the Yearly-meeting (for it held several days, both for worship and discipline), to inquire whether it was usual to let the young, and such as had appeared but little in testimony in our parts of the world, come into meetings of public Friends? I said, Yes, if they were of clean lives, and what they had to say, approved; and it was very like such might want advice as much as those who were come to more experience in the work of the ministry, if not more: this was some means of enlarging the said meetings of ministers now coming on. When I came into the meeting, several of the elders desired me to go into the gallery, which I refused; the concern upon my mind being so great, I thought it was enough that I could but get into the house, and sit down among the lowest rank.

This meeting was one not to be forgotten, because of the eminent visitation from the Lord that was upon us in it. I have not often seen the like; I question if there were any dry cheeks for some time in it; and the manner of the working of the heavenly power was remarkable, in order to the sanctifying and preparing vessels for the Lord's use; and He broke us down by His judgments from following flattering flesh, and the pleasing vanities of the world, and the subtile baits of Satan, by the tenders of His love, and engaged us to follow His heavenly and inward calls, knocks, and reproofs of His Holy Spirit, and to obey the dictates of the same. When the Lord prepares in a good degree for this work of the ministry, many have been unwilling to give up and obey, until they have tasted of the Lord's displeasure, and in part of His judgments, which have brought them into a submission; after which they went out with their lives sometimes in their hands, and became a wonder to men, bearing their reproach; and sometimes appeared in great congregations, sometimes in

noises and tumults, and sometimes were in watchings and fastings, in weariness, hunger, and in cold, with much more for the name of the Lord and His testimony, and for the enjoyment of peace and the internal presence of Him that hath separated us to this work by the Holy Ghost; and it is in and by our abiding faithful to the same, that we are preserved in a capacity of perseverance through all to the end, to the mutual help and comfort one of another, and renown of the name of the Lord, who is worthy now and for ever.

We also had a very large meeting on this island in an orchard, where I had good service for the Lord; and I remember I was much concerned about the two ministrations, viz., John's baptism with water, and Christ's with the Holy Ghost; it being clear from John's words, that he saw to the end of his own dispensation when he declared, he must decrease, but Christ must increase,—which is generally understood to respect their differing dispensations: for the first baptism was to baptize unto repentance, the other to the purging of the floor, and the burning up of that which was combustible, viz., the chaff and stubble, which the Lord's baptism burneth up inwardly, and which no elementary thing can do; for if all the eatings, washings, observations, and ceremonies under the law, although to Israel commanded and enjoined by the Lord, could not make the comers thereunto perfect, how should these or any of them now, when not commanded, as they never were to us, perfect the Gentile world? So what I had upon my mind, as I received I went through with, and showed the beginning, use, and end of the watery dispensation, and the use and continuance of Christ's spiritual baptism to the end of the world. The meeting broke up, and Friends went into an upper room in an inn; but I felt such an

exercise upon my spirit that I could not eat, but desired Friends to be easy, and I would eat as soon as I could; and while I was walking over the large chamber alone, there came up three men whom I knew not, or what they were, but it sprang livingly in my heart to set my eyes on them in the Lord's dread, and so I did. They passed away, and I was told afterwards, that they were three Baptist preachers who had been at the meeting, and came once more to see me, with a design to have a dispute with me; but, they said, I looked so sharply they durst not meddle with me. Thus the Lord in a good degree wrought for me, blessed be His worthy name for ever.

CHAPTER III.

Visits Nantucket—James Bates—Peleg Slocum—Susanna Freeborn—Fear of the People—Nathaniel Starbuck—Mary Starbuck—Her Position and Influence—Meeting at Her House—Its Orderly Arrangement—Her Convincement—Debate with a Priest—William Penn—Reflections.

Now I leave the account of my travels in those parts, and enter upon my second, with my honest companion James Bates, who was born in Virginia, and travelled much with me through many provinces and some islands. We had good service together, and it was much with me, when on Rhode Island, to visit Nantucket, where there were but very few Friends: Peleg Slocum, an honest public Friend near Rhode Island, intending to carry us in his sloop to the said island that night; and Peleg thought we had been close in with our desired landing-place, but we fell short, and night coming on, and having but one small canoe to help us ashore, which would carry but three people at once, we went ashore at twice, and left the sloop at an anchor; and it being grown dark, we thought we were going up into the island among the inhabitants, but soon found that we were upon a beach of sand and rubbish, where was neither grass nor tree, neither could we find the sloop that night, though we sought it carefully, and hallooed one to another till we were weary, so that we were forced to settle upon our little island, from the centre of which one might cast a stone into the sea on every side. Here we staid that night, not knowing but the sea, when

at the height, would have swept us all away, but it did not; there I walked, and sometimes sat, until morning, but slept none. At last the morning came, and the mist went away, and we got on board again, and reached the island about the ninth or tenth hour.

The master was willing, at our request, to land three of us, (*i.e.*) me, my companion, and Susanna Freeborn, a public Friend, who had a concern upon her mind for some time (as she signified to Friends in Rhode Island where she lived) to visit the few Friends in Nantucket; and Friends thought this a proper season to pay that visit. She was a woman well beloved, and in good unity with Friends.

We landed safe, and as we went up an ascent, we saw a great many people looking toward the sea, for great fear had possessed them, that our sloop was a French sloop loaded with men and arms, who were coming to invade the island. I held out my arms and told them, I knew not of any worse arms than these on board. They said, They were glad it was no worse, for they had intended to have alarmed the island; it being a time of war. I told the good-like people, for so they appeared to me, that Peleg Slocum, near Rhode Island, was master of the sloop, and that we came to visit them in the love of God, if they would be willing to let us have some meetings amongst them. They behaved themselves very courteously toward us, and said, they thought we might.

We then inquired for Nathaniel Starbuck, who we understood was in some degree convinced of the Truth, and having directions to his house, we went thither, and I told him, we made bold to come to his house, and if he was free to receive us, we would stay a little while with him, but if not, we would go elsewhere; for we heard he

was a seeking religious man, and such chiefly we were come to visit. He said, we were very welcome. And by this time came in his mother, Mary Starbuck, who the islanders esteemed as a judge among them, for little of moment was done there without her, as I understood.

At the first sight of her it sprang in my heart, To this woman is the everlasting love of God. I looked upon her as a woman that bore some sway in the island, and so I said, and that truly, We are come in the love of God to visit you, if you are willing to let us have some meetings among you. She said, she thought we might; and withal said, there was a non-conformist minister who was to have a meeting, and they were going to it, and she thought it would be the best way for us to go with them to the meeting. I showed my dislike to that for these reasons: first, we did not want to hear what that minister had to say, because some of us had tried them before we came there (meaning the non-conformists of several sorts), and if we should go, and could not be clear without speaking something in the meeting, he might take it ill; but as we understand there is another meeting appointed at the second hour for the same man, therefore, as the present constitution of things are, we look upon ourselves to stand upon an equal ground in a religious capacity with other dissenters; and if we should appoint our meeting at the same hour, then the people will be left to their choice to which meeting they will go. The great woman approved of the proposal, and said, indeed that was the best way. The next consideration was, where shall the meeting be? She paused a while, and then said, I think at our house. I from thence gathered she had an husband, for I thought the word *our* carried in it some power besides her own, and I presently found he was with us: I then made my observa-

tion on him, and he appeared not a man of mean parts; but she so far exceeded him in soundness of judgment, clearness of understanding, and an elegant way of expressing herself, and that not in an affected strain, but very natural to her, that it tended to lessen the qualifications of her husband.

The meeting being agreed on, and care taken as to the appointment of it, we parted, and I lay down to try if I could get any sleep, for I have showed before what sort of a night the last was with us; but sleep vanished away from me, and I got up and walked to and fro in the woods until the meeting was mostly gathered. I was under a very great load in my spirit, but the occasion of it was hid from me, but I saw it my place to go to meeting, the order of which was such, in all the parts thereof, I had not seen the like before; the large and bright-rubbed room was set with suitable seats or chairs, the glass windows taken out of the frames, and many chairs placed without very conveniently, so that I did not see any thing wanting, according to the place, but something to stand on, for I was not free to set my feet upon the fine cane chair, lest I should break it.

I am the more particular in this exact and exemplary order than in some other things, for the seats both within and without doors were so placed, that the faces of the people were toward the seats where the public Friends sat, and when so set, they did not look or gaze in our faces, as some I think are too apt to do, which in my thoughts bespeak an unconcerned mind. The meeting being thus gathered and set down in this orderly and ample manner, (although there were but very few bearing our name in it) it was not long before the mighty power of the Lord began to work, and in it my companion especially did appear in testimony in the fore part thereof; and while he was

speaking, a priest (not him before touched on, but another) flung out some reflections upon him and the people for his sake, which I did not see the least occasion for; after which he went away (but more of this in the sequel).

I sat a considerable time in the meeting before I could see my way clear to say any thing, until the Lord's heavenly power raised me, and set me upon my feet as if one had lifted me up, and what I had first in commission to speak was in the words of Christ to Nicodemus, viz.: Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God; with these words, Nay, the natural and unregenerated man cannot so much as see the heavenly and spiritual kingdom of Christ, which stands not only in power, but also in righteousness, joy, and peace in the Holy Spirit; and to be born again, was not to be done unperceivably, no more than the natural birth could be brought forth without trouble; and to pretend to be in Christ and not to be new creatures, is preposterous; and to pretend to be new creatures, and yet not able to render any account how it was performed, was unreasonable; for it could not be, as I urged before, without our knowledge: for to be born again, signified to be quickened and raised into a spiritual and new life, by which the body of the sins of the flesh is mortified, and we come to live a self-denying life. Those who are crucified with Christ, they are crucified to their sins, that as he died for sin, we might die to sin: in this state we live not after the flesh, although we live (as the apostle said) in the flesh; but the life which these live, is through faith in the Son of God: and to have all this, and much more wrought in us, and we know nothing of it, is unaccountable.

As I was thus opened, and delivering these things, with much more than I can remember, the great woman I

felt, for most of an hour together, fought and strove against the testimony, sometimes looking up in my face with a pale, and then with a more ruddy complexion; but the Truth increased, and the Lord's mighty power began to shake the people within and without doors; but she who was looked upon as a Deborah by these people, was loath to lose her outside religion, or the appearance thereof. When she could no longer contain, she submitted to the power of Truth, and the doctrines thereof, and lifted up her voice and wept. Oh! then the universal cry and brokenness of heart and tears was wonderful! From this time I do not remember one word that I spoke in testimony; it was enough that I could keep upon the true bottom, and not be carried away with the stream above my measure.

I might add much more concerning this day's work, but I intend not to say any thing to the praise of the creature, but to the renown of the mighty name of the Lord of hosts, and let all flesh lie as in the dust for ever; for while I continued speaking in this state, as before mentioned, and thus swallowed up in the internal presence of Christ, where there was no want of power, wisdom, nor utterance, I spoke but a sentence and stopped, and so on for some time. I have since thought of John's being in the Spirit on the Lord's day. If it had been a state to be continued in, I am of the mind, I should not have been sensible of weariness, neither of hunger or pain. This is a mystery to many, yet they are faithful and true sayings, thou mayest read that canst; but there are none who can know the white stone and new name, but they who have it; there are none who stand upon Mount Zion with harps of God in their hands, but only such as have come through great tribulations, and have washed their garments and made them white in the blood of the Lamb; to these are

the seals of the Book of the mysteries of the glorious kingdom opened; these are called out of nations, kindreds, tongues, and people; these are redeemed out of the fallen and earthly state of old Adam, into the living, heavenly, and spiritual state in Christ the second Adam; these cry holy: the other part of the children of men cry unholy, because they are not willing to cast down their crowns at the feet or appearance of Christ in their own souls; although such, with the four beasts may cry, Come and see, yet are they not properly qualified to worship the Lord God and the Lamb before His throne, as the four and twenty elders did, and as all do, and will do, who worship God in His Holy Temple in Spirit and in Truth, according to His own appointment; who are not tied up to the canons, creeds, systems, and dictates of men, much of which is beaten out of the wisdom, parts, and natural comprehension of earthly fallen man.

I return from this, which may seem a mysterious digression, to the other part of what did happen concerning the meeting, and come now to the breaking up thereof; and as extreme heats oft end in extreme cold, and as great heights frequently centre (as to man in this capacity) in great depths, and great plenty in great poverty, which I have often seen to be good in order to keep the creature low, in fear, and in a dependence upon the Lord, I soon fell into such a condition that I was like to die away; and when it was so, I with my companion made a motion to break up the meeting, but could not for some time, for they sat weeping universally; then I told the meeting, especially such as were near me, That if I should faint away, I would not have them to be surprised at it; for I was much concerned lest that should hurt these tender people; my life was not dear to me in comparison of the

worth of the souls of the children of men; but all this did not break up the meeting. But after some time Mary Starbuck stood up, and held out her hand, and spoke tremblingly and said, All that ever we have been building, and all that ever we have done, is all pulled down this day, and this is the everlasting Truth; or very near these words. Then she arose, and I observed that she, and as many as could well be seen, were wet with tears from their faces to the fore skirts of their garments, and the floor was as though there had been a shower of rain upon it; but Mary, that worthy woman, said to me, when a little come to consider the poor state that I was in, Dear child, what shall I do for you? I said, a little would do for me; if thou canst get me something to drink, that is not strong but rather warm, it may do well: so she did, and I went unto her son's, where my clothes were, that I might shift me, for I felt sweat in my shoes as I walked.

I mention this partly for the sakes of such of my brethren, who may be at any time in the like case, to take care to keep out of the cold, and beware of drinking that which is cold, neither is brandy good, for it feeds too much upon the weakened vitals; but in all things endeavour to possess your vessels in sanctification and honour. And as it is not in man's power to make the vessel clean nor prepare it, therefore if the Lord doth (with thy obedience through the work of His Grace and Holy Spirit) fit thy vessel for His work and service, take this caution: see that thou neither destroy, defile, nor hurt the same. But it may be, some or other have done all these, some one way and some another.

I remember Peleg Slocum (before mentioned) said after this meeting, that the like he was never at; for he thought the inhabitants of the island were shaken, and

most of the people convinced of the Truth. However, a great convincement there was that day; Mary Starbuck was one of the number, and in a short time after received a public testimony, as did also her son Nathaniel.

After I was somewhat revived, my companion having a mind to speak to the priest, to know why he did so reflect on him, desired me to go with him, which I did with several more; and coming to his door, where he was sat upon a bench, James Bates asked him, why he did so reflect? He replied, he was in a passion, and had nothing against him; then James forgave him, and they fell into some debate concerning faith; my friend urged the apostle James' words, which are these, As the body is dead without the spirit, so is faith without works. The priest said, Dead faith was nothing, and that it had no being in the world. I thought he appeared to be in the craft; and after they had tugged at it a while, I said, I found something in my mind to interpose, if they would hear me. They both showed a willingness to hear what I had to say, and then I asked, what belief or faith that was the devils had? for I did not understand but that, although they believed there was a God, they remained devils still; therefore the word dead is a proper word, and properly adapted to that which any may call faith and is not operative, but a notion that may be received by education, by hearing or reading, and not that faith which works by love and overcomes the world; and because of its not working, being inactive and useless, is fitly called dead: what doth thou say to that? He said, I was too great a scholar for him. I replied, there was no great scholarship in that. He then invited me to stay all night, and said I should be as welcome as his own children, and he and I would dispute about that between ourselves. I declined it, and

showed these reasons for so doing: if he declined the debate publicly, I would not debate it privately, for then those neighbours of his would want the benefit of it; and so we parted with my saying, as it immediately sprang up in my heart, Thou hast been a man in thy young years that the Lord has been near, and favoured with many openings; and if thou hadst been faithful to the gift of God, thou mightest have been serviceable; but thou hast been unfaithful, and a cloud is come over thee, and thou art laid aside as useless.

I was altogether a stranger to the state of the priest, nor had I heard any thing of him, nor indeed of the state of the inhabitants of the island, but what I heard after mostly from Mary Starbuck; for as we walked from the priest's house toward our quarters, she said, every thing she now met with did confirm her in the Truth; for she knew this was the state of the priest, as I had said, she being acquainted with him in his best state, and then he had fine openings, and a living ministry among them, but of late a cloud was come over him, and, as I said, he was laid by and useless. She also put me in mind of something I had said in the meeting about election, which as near as I can remember, was thus: I had endeavoured to make one in the election, and one born again, much the same; for I had laid waste all claim to election without being born again; for as Christ was the chosen or elect of God, who never fell, could such who were in the fall be the branches of Christ, the pure heavenly vine? Or such who were found in the impure state, and in the degeneracy, by reason of sin and wicked works? Or would Christ be married to a people, and become as their husband, who were in an unconverted state? Could this be the true Church of Christ? Could this be the Lamb's bride, who had de-

parted from this spirit, and was in the pollutions of the world through lust, and running after the pleasures and fineries of the world, depending upon ceremonies, and outside things and elements, which appear not to be essential to our salvation, neither do we find life in them, nor conversion through them? I was of the apostle's mind, that neither circumcision nor uncircumcision availeth any thing, but a new creature: and what man in the world can say, that water (although he may have been baptized or dipped into the same) hath converted him, or changed his state from a natural to a spiritual, or from a dead to a living state in Christ? Or, who that have gone through the most celebrated ceremonies (as some may account them) had thereby got dominion over sin and Satan?

Having thus treated of things, or to this purpose, among them, I said to Mary, that she warred and strove against the testimony for a time; and as near as I remember, she said their principle was, That such who believed once in Christ, were always in him, without possibility of falling away; and whom he had once loved, he loved to the end,—and it was a distinction they had given to their church, to be called Electarians; and as I said, or near it, she had no mind to be pulled out of her stronghold. But when she saw the glory of Christ and the true Church, as the Queen of the South saw Solomon's and the glory of his house, and as she had her questions and doubts answered, she had no more spirit in her, or doubts or questions, but openly owned, This is the Truth; this is the glory I have heard so much of. That spirit of doubting and questioning was swallowed up now, by her hearing and beholding for herself this greater than Solomon, his wisdom and glory, and the great house he had built (the servants, the attendance, and excellent order, with the ascent unto

the house of God, which were all wonderful in Solomon's house, carried in them a lively resemblance of Christ, his power, glory, and wisdom) as also that order and mean which is seen among his faithful servants, his Church and people, even such as our spiritual Solomon rules in and over by his spirit and power. Here is Solomon or man of peace, elsewhere called the Prince of Peace; and as Solomon ruled in Jerusalem, formerly called Salem, or City of Peace, and indeed over all Judah, and over all his tribes, so doth Christ in his kingdom every where upon the face of the whole earth. Learn this; see and know in and for thyself, that thou art truly translated out of the kingdom of death and darkness into the kingdom of Christ, which is a kingdom of power, life, light, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. I was much bowed down in my spirit, and in weakness, fasting, and in much fear; for the more that Truth appears, the more it brings the creature into self-abasement.

A passage is here revived to my mind, which was thus: after a large Yearly Meeting, where were many able ministers, one of whom was worthy William Penn, who, taking me aside after the meeting, said, The main part of the service of this day's work went on thy side, and we saw it, and were willing and easy to give way to the Truth, though it was through thee, who appears but like a shrub; and it is but reasonable the Lord should make use of whom He pleases. Now, methinks, thou mayest be cheerful. From which I gathered, that he thought I was too much inclinable to be cast down; therefore I gave him this true answer, I endeavour to keep in a medium, out of all extremes, as believing it to be most agreeable to my station,—with this remark, the worst of my times rather imbittered the best to me. William shook his head and said, with much re-

spect, There are many who steer in this course besides thee, and it is the safest path for us to walk in; with several other expressions which bespoke affection.

This worthy man and minister of the gospel, notwithstanding his great endowments and excellent qualifications, yet thought it his place to stoop to and give way to the Truth, and let the holy testimony go through whom it might please the Lord to impower and employ in His work, although it might be through contemptible instruments. I sincerely desire this may prove profitable to those whom it may concern, and into whose hands it may come, that the Lord's work may be truly minded and given way unto, when it is opened; for seeing no man can open it, let not any strive on the man's part to shut the same. I have at times seen something of this nature, which hath not been altogether to my satisfaction: a word to the wise may serve, I would hope, and may be sufficient for a caution, for what I have written is in the love of God, and under a concern that hath been upon my mind at times, for some years, to leave behind me a gentle caution to my tender friends of both sexes, to have an especial care in all things to recommend not only their gifts, but their demeanour in them, as also their conversations after them, to every man's conscience in the sight of God, so that you may build up the Lord's house (like the wise woman); and always have a great care, that nothing you say or do may any way tend to the hindrance of the Lord's work, or discourage the weakest in the flock of Christ, but labour to fasten every stake, and strengthen every cord of Zion, and as much as you are capable, build up the Tabernacle in Jerusalem; for as God is a Spirit, and the soul of man is a spiritual existence, and as the soul and body of man become sanctified and prepared as a temple for the Lord by His Holy

Spirit to tabernacle in, the Lord is to such as a sanctuary to fly to and rest in from heats and from storms. Here is the true Church's rock and place of defence (to wit), the name and power of the mighty God. Oh! that all the inhabitants of the earth were acquainted with this name and rock of defence, they would not then be so much overcome, as they are, with the power of the enemy of the soul, but would live above his region, which is in the earth, or rather, in the earthly hearts of men. All you who have escaped the pollutions of the world, keep in your tents, until the Lord moves and leads forward, and opens the way, sometimes as in a wilderness.

Read and understand from whence these things have their rise and original, for there is the Church's safety and its comeliness too, in abiding in the Truth; this is your place of safety where the enemy has no power, where the wiles of Satan and inventions of man cannot reach. No enchantment hath power over these, renowned be the great name of the Lord now and for ever.

How comfortable, how easy, and pleasant are even all the books, and testimonies, and exhortations that are given forth in the Spirit, Love, and Life of Christ! yea, the very company and conversation of such who are preserved in the Life becomes a sweet savour of Divine Life to the living. There is edification, comfort, and consolation,—a strengthening and building up one of another in the most holy and precious faith; so that I find the truly quickened soul taketh great delight to resort to and, as much as may be, converse with the awakened and truly quickened souls who take up the cross of Christ daily, and follow him in the way of self-denial, although it be a way that is much spoken against by such who know not the nature and discipline of the Holy Cross, and despise such who are true

followers of Christ. To feel this essential virtue, seed, or leaven of the kingdom, or salt of the covenant (Christ), to work so effectual to the restoring of the powers and faculties of the soul into the first rectitude and purity, that all the malignity may be thoroughly purged out, with all the dross or tin, which defileth the man and makes him unfit for the kingdom and for the service of God, is a great work. Neither is the vessel preserved clean (when it is in degree cleansed), but through great care, watchfulness, and diligence in attending upon the Lord, with great devotedness and resignation to His mind and will in all things. Experience hath taught us, as well as what we read in the Holy Scriptures, that there are many combats to go through for such as are engaged in this warfare, before the above-said state, viz., delivery from sin and Satan, and a sabbatical or peaceful rest in Christ, can be obtained by the soul.

Come thou that lovest the light, and bringest thy deeds to the light, and believest in the light, and hast thy body full of light, by keeping thy eye single to God, and in and to all things that may tend to His glory and thy duty,—thou wilt become a child of the light, and receive the whole armour of light: this is that which will arm thee on the right hand and on the left. Put off thy own righteousness, which it may be thy breast hath been too much possessed with, and put on Christ's righteousness as a breast-plate, for it much imboldens in imminent dangers, and also at approaching death: wait upon him that hath power, that thy feet may be shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace; so that as the gospel-power and gospel-ministry all tend to gather in the ways of the gospel and of virtue, thou mayest not fail to be a preacher of righteousness in thy walking and in thy whole conversa-

tion. For this is one of the good ends for which the gospel-power hath reached and visited thy soul, viz., to purge it and make it clean; and take care to have upon thy head the helmet of salvation, which will be a strength and as a crown to thee, not only in thy many encounters, but more especially in thy last encounter with death; and that thou mayest have faith as a shield to put on, that thou mayest overcome the world and have victory; and above all things, take to thyself the sword of the spirit, which is the Word of God, that through this excellent armour of proof thou mayest be able to quench all the fiery darts and temptations of the devil.

If thou art a soldier of Christ, this is thy armour; these are thy accoutrements, which fit thee for thy vocation, as a follower of the Lamb, through many encounters with thy enemies; which armour will give thee the victory and bring thee through many tribulations, which is the way to the kingdom of heaven.

CHAPTER IV.

Leaves New England and Nantucket—Arrives at Lynn—George Keith—His Boasting and False Statements—John Richardson's Answer to the Same—A Slander Refuted—George Keith's Confession—Priest Sheppard silenced—Visits Long Island—Thomas Story—John Rodman—A True Account of George Keith's Conduct.

Now leaving the eastern parts of New England, and these fine tender people on Nantucket Island, with fervent supplications and prayers to the Lord of heaven and earth that He would prosper His blessed work of conversion which he had begun amongst them, and in all such upon the face of the whole earth, in the next place I came to Lynn, to Samuel Collins, where I had not been long before I met with an unusual exercise, which I had expected for some time would fall upon me, viz.:—

Having heard of George Keith's intention of being at Lynn Monthly Meeting the next day, (this Lynn, as near as I remember, lies between Salem in the east part and Boston), the evening coming on, as I was writing to some friends in Old England, one came in haste to desire me to come down, for George Keith was come to the door, and a great number of people and a priest with him, and was railing against Friends exceedingly. I said, inasmuch as I understand this Lynn Meeting is, although large, mostly a newly-convinced people, I advise you to be swift to hear, but slow to speak, for George Keith hath a life in argument; and let us as a people seek unto and cry

mightily to the Lord, to look down upon us and help us for His name's sake, for our preservation, that none may be hurt.

The country was much alarmed; for, as Friends said, George Keith had given notice two weeks before hand that he intended to be at this Monthly Meeting, and the people were in great expectation to hear the Quakers run down; for George Keith had boasted much of what he would prove against Friends. So after some pause, retirement, and fervent seeking to the Lord for direction and counsel in this important affair, I went to the rails, and leaned my arms on them near George Keith's horse's head, as he sat on his back, and many people were with him; but the few Friends who were come stood with me in the yard. My fervent prayers were to the Lord, that if He gave me any thing to speak to George, it might go forth in that power and wisdom which was able to wound that wicked spirit in which he appeared, and boasted over Friends after the following manner, crying, Is here a man that is a scholar? is here a man that understands the languages amongst you? If so, I will dispute with him. I told him, it was probable that the English tongue was most generally understood and used amongst that people, and therefore I thought it was the best to keep to it. He went on and said, That he was come in the Queen's name to gather the Quakers from Quakerism to the Mother Church, the good old Church of England, and that he intended to exhibit in our meeting on the morrow these charges following against us, which, he said, he could prove we were guilty of, out of our Friends' books, viz.: Errors, heresies, damnable doctrines, and blasphemies. Look, said he, to answer for yourselves, for if you do not, the auditory will conclude that what I exhibit against you is true.

I was roused up in my spirit in a holy zeal against his wicked insults and great threatenings, and said to him, that it was the fruit of malice and envy, and that he was to us but as an heathen man and a publican (but more of this anon). Then he began to cast what slurs and odiums he could upon Friends, with such bitter invectives as his malice could invent. I stood with an attentive ear and a watchful mind; for as I stood leaning upon the rails with no small concern upon my mind, I felt the Lord's power arise, and by it my strength was renewed in the inner man, and faith, wisdom, and courage with it, so that the fear of man, with all his parts and learning, was taken from me; and in this state George Keith appeared to me but as a little child, or as nothing. Renowned be the most excellent name of the Lord, now and for ever. But this great champion (Goliah-like, at least in his mind), I supposed, feared not any there: he overlooked us all, and in the pride of his heart disdained us; but the Lord of heaven and earth looked down upon us in a very acceptable time, and helped us for His name's sake, and covered our heads in the day of battle. Glorified be His great name for ever.

I have sometimes thought to omit some part of this account concerning George Keith, but I remember it opened very clearly in my mind then, and I said to him, that the Hand of the Lord was against him, and that He would pour forth contempt upon him for his disobedience and wickedness.

But to return to his reflections: he said, The Quakers pretend to be against all ceremonies, but he could prove that they used many ceremonies, as taking one another by the hand, and men saluting one another, and women doing so to one another; and he said, that women did salute men,

yea, they had done it to him; as it was generally understood by those who heard him, which I thought not worthy my notice (but more of this anon). He went on and said, The Quakers pretended to be against all persecution, but they were not clear; for the Quakers in Pennsylvania and the Jerseys had persecuted him, and would have hanged him, but that there was some alteration in the government.

Then came out one of my arrows which cut and wounded him deep: I said, George, that is not true. Upon that the priest drew near and appeared very brisk, and said, I had as good as charged Mr. Keith (as he called him) with a lie. I replied, give me time, and I will prove that which George said was not true, and then thou and he may take your advantage to rescue him from that epithet of a liar, if you can. The priest said, I knew not Mr. Keith. I replied, if he knew him as well as I did, he would be ashamed to be there as an abettor of him. The priest got away, and troubled me no more in all the engagements that George and I had afterwards (although the said priest was with him). Then I demanded of George, what way our Friends proceeded against him, and what measures they took, as he would insinuate, to bring him to the gallows? But I perceived fear began to surprise the hypocrite, and he thinking by my boldness I was an inhabitant of those parts, and knew his abuse to Friends in these provinces, and their peaceable behaviour toward him, was willing to let the matter drop, and demanded my name, which was told him. I then asked, how he could have a face to urge such a notorious untruth in the view of that people, who were much strangers to, and ignorant of, the troubles and differences, chiefly created by him, among Friends in those parts?

This meeting (as before mentioned) being generally

newly convinced of the Truth, therefore I urged to have him come to the particulars of Friends' proceedings against him, that even for very shame among those strangers he would set forth, as far as he could in Truth, the steps Friends had taken in persecuting him, as he pretended; but he would not meddle in the least with it. Then I showed him, and the people, the falsity of his charge and the wickedness of his spirit, and the peaceableness of Friends' behaviour toward him, and what great affronts and provocations they had put up with at his hand, as I had it from those who were eye and ear witnesses of it: for, as I showed George Keith, I had searched into the bottom of these matters, and heard that when he stood before governors and assembly-men in their courts of judicature, when they were met about the affairs of the three provinces, he has tore open his buttons and told them, His back tickled for a whipping, and could they not cut him into collops, and fry, and eat them with salt; and that he scorned they should wipe his shoes: all which, with much more, I told him, I could prove against him. And when he saw he could not provoke Friends to give him some condign punishment, which I thought, as I said to him, none but Friends would have spared, especially when his back tickled so much for a whipping; but they like men of peace and religion overlooked it all, and he like a man full of malice, rather than want something to slur and blacken Friends with, wrote a letter I know not where, but dated it from Bridlington Prison, in West Jersey. It must have been dated on the outside of the prison, the doors being locked, so that he could not get into it; yet this went current afar off, that George Keith was in prison,—consequently by Friends' procurement, they being chief at the helm of government in those three provinces.

I asked, what he had to say to all this, for it was all proveable? He did not object one word against what I had said, but vainly hoping for better success relating to his undertaking in Old England, finding me (as he might suppose) so well versed in the American affairs, hoped (no doubt) that I had been more ignorant of the affairs in Britain. But, poor man, he sped as ill there also; for he boastingly said, Since it pleased God to open his eyes to see into the worst of the Quakers' errors,—although, he said, charity did oblige him to construe every thing at the best whilst in fellowship with them,—but since they were so opened, as he said, he had been instrumental to bring from Quakerism, to the good old Mother Church in Old England, five hundred people. I replied, that is not true. If he rightly considered what he had done in Old England, he had little cause to boast; for, I said, I thought about as many persons as he spoke of hundreds would make up the number there, and if there was occasion, I could name all or most of them; and withal told him, that some of those few, whilst among us, were grown to be neither honourable nor comfortable to us. I urged George, if he could, to name or make appear more in number than I had mentioned, that he had so gathered, as he had falsely said. This was a very great stroke upon him, and put him to a stand.

He then began to ask of my country, and from whence I came? With the account of which I humoured him; yet withal put him in mind of his great brag, and importuned him to make something appear toward that great matter he had done in Old England, even for very shame; for I was ashamed for him, that a man of his learning, parts, and pretensions should so expose himself; but he went no farther about it. Then I showed to the people what sort

of a man he was, (as they themselves could not but see, who were impartial,) and that he was not worthy of our notice; for he cared not what he said, so that he could but calumniate and abuse us.

By this time he appeared somewhat glutted with the sharp sword and keen arrow the Lord gave me, which cut and wounded deep, so that from this time I did not find in our after encounters, he appeared at any time so bold and desperately hardy, but rather expressed himself, although very wickedly, yet in a softer tone. He was now for being gone, threatening us with what he would do on the morrow; but I reminded him, that he was to us as an heathen man or a publican, and that what he exhibited against us, being but the fruits of wrath and envy, as such we slighted and trod it under our feet as dirt, and rather desired his absence than his company. So away he went, only telling us he would be with us in the morning. We understood by it, that he intended to be with us at the Friend's house, the meeting-house being about a quarter of a mile from our lodgings.

The evening coming on, the neighbouring Presbyterian women fell hard upon our women Friends about their saluting men, which George Keith had charged upon them, as was generally understood, in the plural, and this appeared as a confirmation, as they alledged, because when charged, I made no reply to it, as I had done to all or most other charges, and had overthrown Mr. Keith, as they said, so that he was not able to stand before me; they ought to have said before the Lord in the first place. But how the women might clear themselves of that reflection was the present business. I said, I thought it would be the best at a suitable time in the morning, when George Keith was come, that by handsomely bringing the matter

over him, they might learn what women they were who saluted him, and so clear themselves from the reflection cast upon them; for, I said, perhaps he will limit it to some of his near kindred (as wife, mother, sister, daughter), which may serve for a salvo in this present case; for I did not know of any such general practice in any place where I had been, and I had visited most of the meetings in England, Scotland, and Wales. So in the morning when George with two priests, and many people, were come, with some Friends, who filled the house, a woman Friend stood up and brought the matter discreetly over George Keith. But when she put the question in the plural (women), he shifted the term and said, He did not say women. I desired the Friend to call to her neighbours who heard what George Keith had said the last evening, and were now present, how they understood the word? One like a wise and just man said, He would do justice to every man, and he understood that George said women; and many said to the same purpose, but none to the contrary. The Friends asked me, How I understood the word? as being a North-country man, I might know better the North or Scotch dialect than they. I replied, they had a broad way of expressing the word woman, rather sounding it like the plural; but I understood it women, as the above-mentioned discreet man had said.

The next question she put to him was, What woman? He answered, A good old motherly woman that was gone to heaven many years ago. Then she asked, What country-woman? He replied, A Scotch woman. The Friend said, It was very well that he had cleared all the world of that fault (if it might be so termed), but Scotland, and the woman dead many years ago. The women Friends were greatly satisfied, and glad they were so finely discharged

of that which some counted a foul reflection, and especially before their zealous neighbours the Presbyterians, who (as the Friends' said) probably might have twitted them with it, whether the matter was true or false, if it had not been cleared up; but, as I said to George, it was a reflection for reflection's sake,—for I was willing to set every thing that was wrong (as far as I was capable) in its proper light, that Friends and others, of all persuasions and qualities who were present, might see things as they really were, and not be deceived; and I had much satisfaction in so doing. And inasmuch as I was engaged in the defence of the Truth, it appeared the most clear to me to load him with his own lies, mistakes, and wickedness, and to do what we did, as much as in us lay, in the Lord's mighty power; for he appeared to me like to the angels who kept not their first estate.

Matters being thus far gone through, and the meeting time drawing on, I was in some concern of mind lest any should be hurt by either hearing or answering George Keith, he having a great propensity to jangling; it therefore opened in my mind to ask him a question, withal reminding him, that he was but to us as an heathen man or a publican, yet he might, if he pleased, answer me the question, which was, Whether he was always sound in the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, yea or nay? Upon which he sat a considerable time in silence, of which I was truly glad, my spirit being much bowed under the apprehension I had of the weighty exercise that was likely to attend the approaching meeting. But, before we parted, George stood up, and taking his staff in his hand by the middle, said, While he was a Quaker, he thought as Paul thought, that he had the Spirit of God; and when he had the Spirit of God, then he wrote sound things, but when

he had it not, then he wrote unsound things. I asked, whether these unsound things he wrote were in fundamentals, yea or nay? If not in fundamentals, then my question remained firm and untouched. He would have gone from the matter, but I reminded him of it again, as I supposed he foresaw that he could not answer it but by bringing a stroke upon himself; for if he had owned his being unsound, I had it under his own hand, in a book written after he left Friends, that he was always sound, etc. And if he had said, he was always sound in the fundamentals, as before, then I intended to have asked, why he left us? For he advocated the same orthodox principles which we believed and taught: but we ended quietly, and prepared to go to the great meeting, for by this time many Friends and people were come, and coming from every quarter, to see and hear how matters would go between the poor Quakers and this great champion in his heart, George Keith; for I thought he most resembled the great Goliah of Gath, who defied the armies of the living God, of any I had ever yet seen in all my travels, in a religious respect.

Now to the meeting we went: George Keith, with two priests, and a great many people gathered together of several professions and qualities into one body, and Friends and some friendly people into another body; and as we came near to the meeting-house, I stood still, and took a view of the people, and it appeared to me as if two armies were going to engage in battle. There appeared with George Keith men of considerable estates, parts, and learning, and we appeared like poor shrubs; and, under a sense of our present state, I had like to have been dismayed, and my faith had even like to have failed me; but I cried mightily to the God and Fountain of all our tender mercies, that He would look down upon us and help us in this time

of great exercise, which was not hid from Him; but His penetrating eye saw, and His watchful Providence attended us, blessed be His name for ever. I continued my fervent prayers and intercessions to the Lord of Hosts, that He would arise for His great name's sake and work for us that day, that the enemies of Truth might not triumph or vaunt over us, and that none of these tender plants, which He had brought to the saving knowledge of the Truth, might be hurt.

I had no sooner thus heartily sought to the Lord, but I felt renewed strength come upon me, and the fear of man was taken away from me, and I saw evidently that Truth would have the victory that day, and my faith and confidence was greatly strengthened in the Lord. These breathings forth of my spirit to the Lord were in secret, without words to be heard by men, but the Lord hears and knows the distress and language of the spirit.

Being thus encouraged in myself, it arose in my heart to speak to Friends before we went into the meeting-house, and I advised them to be swift to hear and slow to speak, and that what was spoken might be in the Lord's power, for that wounds George the most, and slays that wicked and ranting spirit in him, more than all the wisdom of words without it; and let us maintain our testimony of denial against him, and endeavour to get together into one body, that we may be a help and strength one to another; and let every one who knows the Lord, cry mightily unto Him, that His living power and presence may be amongst us, and I believed the Lord would not suffer any to be hurt. So the meeting gathered, and immediately after, George stood up to tell us (as before), That he was come in the Queen's name to gather Quakers from Quakerism to the good old Mother Church, the Church of England (as

he called it), and that he could prove out of our own books that we held errors, heresies, damnable doctrines, and blasphemies; with a threat to look to ourselves to answer, or else the auditory would conclude that what he exhibited against us was true. I expected that some of the elder Friends would say something to him, but none did; and I having a deep concern upon my mind, lest Truth or the friends of Truth should suffer through our mismanagement, and such as waited for occasion might have an occasion administered by us against ourselves,—I say, under this concern of mind I stood up, and signified to the people what manner of man George Keith was; notwithstanding he had walked many years amongst us, yet toward the latter end of his so walking with us he grew very troublesome, by reason of a contentious spirit which did possess him; and after much labour, and exercising of patience and extending of love toward him, in order to recover and reclaim him, all that labour of love and much forbearance would not avail, but he still persisted in the work of contention and disturbance. Then he was publicly disowned and testified against by us, as a person with whom we had no unity or fellowship; and being thus cast out, he became to us (agreeable to the sayings of Jesus Christ) as an heathen man or a publican; and being thus disjointed, to expose us what lay in his power to all sorts of people, he chose printing against us, wherein he hath much abused us, in leaving out many times the explanatory parts of sentences, and coining words to make the meaning appear different from what was designed, and, indeed, from what was most fair and genuine; therefore some of our Friends found themselves concerned to follow him in print, for the clearing us from what he, through envy, would have willingly fastened upon

us, and to return his self-contradictions, misinterpretations, and misapplications of our writings upon himself, and to clear our own innocency, and manifest the perverseness and wickedness of his spirit: neither do we, as a people, hold ourselves to be under any obligation to follow him into foreign parts of the world, to answer his arraingments and charges, not being conscious to ourselves that we hold any thing contrary to sound and orthodox doctrine; and also knowing that what he exhibits against us is the fruit of envy and malice, as such we reject it and trample it under our feet; and were it not for your sakes, who are strangers to these things, we should take no further notice of George Keith than to slight and reject him, as a man that cares not what he says, nor is he worthy of our notice.

Then pausing a little, George being quiet, a Friend stood up with a short but living testimony, and then my companion; all this with much weight and with good demonstration. After them it pleased the Lord to open my mouth, I think in as much strength, clearness, and demonstration as ever, beginning with the following words, In that way you call heresy do we worship the God of our fathers, believing all things that are written concerning Jesus Christ, both as to his Godhead and manhood; giving a summary account of his birth, working of miracles, some of his doctrine, sufferings, and death, ascension and glorification, the coming of the Spirit of Truth, or Comforter, to lead all those who receive, believe, and obey it into all Truth,—having great openings concerning the law and prophets, and the beginning, service, and end of the ministration of John the Baptist. The people appeared very much down and attentive, for the Lord's heavenly baptizing power was amongst us that day. It was thought, many were there who had not been at any of our

meetings of worship before, and the presence of the priests there opened a door for all the rest.

I, being clear, left them unto the Grace of God, and unto their free teacher Christ, whose heavenly power in the appearance of his Spirit, the last and lasting dispensation, was exalted that day above all the shadowy and typical things that ever had been in the world. A good meeting it was, and Friends were mutually comforted and edified in the internal presence of the Lord.

The priest of this place, whose name was Sheppard, before my mouth was opened in testimony, made preparation to write, and when I began to speak, he had his hat upon his knee and his paper upon its crown, and pen and ink in his hands, and made many motions to write, but wrote nothing; as he began so he ended, without writing at all. And as Friends entered the meeting-house in the Lord's power, even that power, which cut Rahab and wounded the dragon, which had been at work, kept down in a good degree the wrong spirit in George, for he appeared much down; but this busy priest called to him several times to make his reply to what I had spoken. After some time I said to the priest, in behalf of the meeting, that he might have liberty to make reply. He proposed to have another day appointed for a dispute: to which I said, if he did make a voluntary challenge, which he should not say we put him upon, we or some of us (meaning Friends), if a day and place were agreed upon, should find it our concern to answer him as well as we could. He said, He would have Mr. Keith to be with him. I told him, if he should, and meddle in the dispute, if I was there, I should reject him for reasons before assigned. When the priest had said this and somewhat more, an elder of the Presbyterian congregation clapped

him on the shoulder, and bid him sit down; so he was quiet, and then stood up George Keith, and owned he had been refreshed amongst us that day, and had heard a great many sound Truths, with some errors, but that it was not the common doctrine which the Quakers preached.

I then stood up and said, I had something to say to obviate what George Keith would insinuate; for his drift was to infuse an opinion into them, that the Quakers did not commonly preach up faith in the manhood of Christ, as I had done that day. I appealed to the auditory, whether they thought there was a necessity frequently to press a matter so universally received amongst Christians as faith in the manhood of Christ? Yet we, as a people, had so often and clearly demonstrated our faith in the manhood of Christ, both in our testimonies and writings, as might satisfy any unbiassed person, or such who were not prejudiced against us; and we know not of any people who believe more scripturally in the manhood of Christ than we do; but inasmuch as the Grace, Light, and Holy Spirit is highly concerned in the work of man's salvation, as well as what Christ did for us without us, and this being yet much a mystery to many called Christians, it pleases God to open in the course of our ministry into the meaning and mystery thereof, and to press the latter more than the former. To which George made no reply, but began to exhibit his charges against us (as mentioned before), and said, he could prove them out of our Friends' books, naming George Fox and Edward Burrough, etc. He had in a paper a great many quotations out of Friends' books, and a young man with him had many books in a bag, out of which, he said, he would prove the charges he was about to exhibit against us.

He was now crowded up into the gallery between me

and the rail, with a paper in his hand, and I standing over him, and being taller, could see his quotations and his paraphrases upon them; on which I told him loudly, that all the meeting might hear, that he offered violence to that sense and understanding which God had given him, and he knew in his conscience we were not that people, neither were our Friends' writings either damnable or blasphemous, as he through envy endeavoured to make the world believe; and that he would not have peace in so doing, but trouble from the Lord in his conscience. I spoke in the Lord's dreadful power, and George trembled so much as I seldom ever saw any man do. I pitied him in my heart, yet, as Moses said once concerning Israel, I felt the wrath of the Lord go forth against him. George said, Do not judge me: I replied, the Lord judges, and all who are truly one in spirit with the Lord cannot but judge thee. So he gave over, and it appearing a suitable time to break up the meeting, Friends parted in great love, tenderness, and brokenness of heart; for the Lord's mighty power had been in and over the meeting from the beginning to the end thereof, glorified and renowned be His most excellent name now and for ever, for His mercies are many to those that love and fear Him who is the fulness of all good.

This meeting was not only for worship, but also for business, as I said to the people at our parting: it was Friends' Monthly Meeting, in which their poor, fatherless, and widows were taken care of, and such other things as concern them as a people. Two Friends were desired to stay, to hear what George had to say to them who remained, which said two Friends gave an account to us afterwards, that George said to the people after we were gone, that the Quakers had left none to dispute with him but an ass and a fool: when I heard it, I said, could you

not have replied, An ass was once made sufficient to reprove the madness of the Prophet.

George called to see me the next day, and said, You had the advantage over me yesterday, for you persuaded me to be quiet until you had done, and then you would not stay to hear me; neither indeed were we under any obligation so to do. I told him, I hoped that Truth would always have the advantage over those who opposed it, and so we parted, but met again upon Rhode Island,—the governor of which place, who was a friendly man, having heard of my intention of coming thither, ordered the deputy-governor when I came to have me to him, which he did; and when he saw me at the door, and after inquiry heard my name, he took me by the hand and led me like a brother, or rather more like a tender father, into a room setting me down by him, and then began to say, I have heard much of you, and desired to see you long, and am glad you are here. I finding him near me in spirit, was very open in my mind to him, and answered him with much clearness and satisfaction. I remember he asked, whether I thought the sourness in the minds of the Presbyterians against us was not rather abated? I told him, I did believe it was; and if our Friends did but observe to walk wisely, and live up to what they professed, they would overcome it all. He said, That was the way, and there was not another comparable to it; and, as he said, and I believe it was so, he had no other view in sending for me, but to manifest his respects to me and to do me any service that lay in his power. I told him, I was sensible of his love, and wished I could be capable of retaliating that which in gratitude his kindness to me called for. He said, he desired no more than when I came that way I would visit him, if he was living. I told him, I intended so to

do, if ever it was my lot to come there again. I then desired he would be at the meeting next day, George Keith proposing to be there, in all likelihood it would be very large; which he promised he would, and accordingly came.

George made little disturbance in the beginning of the meeting, but commanded the governor to quiet the Quakers. A priest said, Mr. Keith, you ought not to command the governor, but entreat him: well then, he entreated the governor to quiet the Quakers that he might be heard. Whereupon the governor, like a man of justice and wisdom, stood up and said, It was not in his power to quiet the Quakers, inasmuch as the house is theirs, and they have appointed the meeting, it is but reasonable they should have their liberty; and if they be willing when they have done, you have your liberty to say what you have to say to those who will stay to hear you. So the governor being near me, leaned his hand upon me, and went away in a sober manner. George was quiet and we had a good meeting, and so parted.

After most of the Friends were gone, a Friend and I went to the meeting-house door, to hear what George said. He held his Bible in his hand, and said it was promised that the Gospel should be preached unto every creature under heaven; but if it was truly translated, it would be in every creature (not in every creature, as horse, cow, etc., but in every rational creature of mankind); and then their meeting broke up in confusion.

My next remove was to Long Island, where I met with Thomas Story and John Rodman. John desired Thomas and me to be assistants to him in preparing a writing against George Keith, when he came to Flushing meeting upon the aforesaid Island, which writing was to this effect, viz.:—

Whereas Colonel West, an inhabitant in these parts, who died and made Miles Forster a trustee, gave by will a considerable sum of money to poor Friends of London, which money was ordered by the testator to be put in to the hands of some faithful Friends of the aforesaid City of London, to distribute as above. A true copy of which will we obtained, and at the meeting made it fairly appear to George Keith's face, that he had wronged the poor in receiving fifty pounds of the aforesaid money of Miles Forster, as appeared under Miles' own hand; which George did not deny when he was charged with it in the meeting, as knowingly to have robbed the poor: it being made fairly appear that George Keith had no right to meddle with the money, neither as a faithful Friend nor yet as a poor Friend of London, because he was then in America; and what made him more incapable of claiming any part of it, was his being got into the spirit of strife and enmity against Friends, and therefore, before they could hear his charges, he ought to have first laid down the money, or given such security as Friends approved of; neither of which he was capable of doing: so he was slighted by all or most of the people, as well as by Friends, and this blocked up his way so much that we had little or no trouble with him in that part of the world. But the Lord wrought for His name's sake and the preservation of His tender people, praises and honour to be given to His great name now and for ever. Thus ended this engagement betwixt a poor servant of Christ and a grand apostate, who appeared to fight against reason, sense, and conscience. Think, not my friends, the account too long, for it hath seemed to me for some time a debt due to my brethren, and a piece of justice to the memory of George Keith, for his wickedness, revolting, and sad apostacy. Few there are who can be-

lieve how great the power of darkness and wickedness of that mind and spirit was, which possessed and breathed through him: so great it was, that even the considerate and sober people said, they did not think that George Keith had been so wicked a man as they now found he was upon trial. Courteous Friend and reader, hold fast that which thou hast received, that none may take thy crown; for it is laid up in store for the righteous only, and such who hold out to the end in the same pure righteousness which is of Christ, wrought and continued in man by the operation and indwelling of his Holy Spirit, as man abideth in subjection and obedience to the leadings and dictates thereof.

I told George, that I was much ashamed of his complimenting great people: for I observed he sometimes said thee and thou, and sometimes you and sir; sometimes put his hat off, and sometimes kept it on. I told him, before I would be so unhandy, if I intended to be ceremonious, I would have gone to school awhile before I would shame myself as he had done. If I have not written the very words in all my accounts in the preceding pages, I have the substance; and for a conclusion, I had to say to George Keith, The hand of the Lord was against him, and would follow him, unless he repented.

This account carries in it an admonition to us and to Friends in future ages, into whose hands it may come, to beware of letting in the spirit of envy, prejudice, and pride of heart, which I clearly saw was that which, with too much leaning to his natural abilities and learning, was his overthrow; he not keeping to the Lord's Holy Spirit, the life and strength of His faithful people and the key of true knowledge, the good remembrancer and leader into all Truth, which the Lord sees meet in His wisdom to open

and lead us into; without the help of which anointing and Holy Spirit, we are apt to be cold and forgetful in our duties toward God, and also in our love and duties one to another; but as the measure of this Spirit is faithfully kept to and improved, we grow more and more fruitful in every good work and word, to the glory of God and comfort of our souls, and, as the salt of the earth, help to season those who are not seasoned.

CHAPTER V.

Query of Rhode Island Yearly Meeting—John Richardson's Answer—Exercise in a Meeting in New Jersey—Like Concern in Pennsylvania—Rogers, and His Gift—Visits Pennsbury—Interview with William Penn and the Indians—Their Views on a Future State—Their Acknowledgment of the Truth—Distress of the Wife of a Man who had become a Quaker—Lord Baltimore and Wife—Anecdote of the Governor of Virginia—Peril—Escape—The Young Presbyterian.

When I was in the Yearly Meeting upon Rhode Island, there was a query concerning what Friends might do, in case there should be a levy or tax laid upon the inhabitants for building some fortifications, and to provide men and arms for the security of the island? Such a thing being then in agitation, he who was one of the chief Friends concerned in church affairs, would have me give an account what we did in the like case in England; for he said, they in that country looked upon themselves but as the daughter, and Friends here in Old England as their mother, and they were willing to act consistent with us as far they could, and would know how we did there in that matter, whether we could pay to that tax which was for carrying on a vigorous war against France? I was unwilling to meddle with it, as I said; but the meeting waited a considerable time for my answer (as one told me), and was not willing to go forward without it. At last, when I could not well do otherwise, I signified to that large meeting, that I had heard the matter debated both in superior

and inferior meetings, and privately, and the most general result was this: Friends did not see an effectual door opened to avoid the thing, that tax being mixed with the other taxes,—although many Friends are not so easy as they could desire; neither have we any further sway in the government, than only giving our voices for such as are concerned therein; therefore, as things appear to me, there is a great disparity between our circumstances and yours here,—for you have a great interest here, and a great share in the government, and perhaps may put such a thing by in voting, considering the body of Friends, and such as are friendly, whom you have an interest in. Therefore, look not for help from the mother, wherein she is not capable of helping herself, and thereby neglect your own business; but mind your own way in the Truth, and look not out. Friends appeared well satisfied with these distinctions, and it gave me some ease, in that I had not hurt any.

During my stay in one of the Jerseys, a great weight, more than usual, seized upon my spirit as I sat in a meeting, and under a sense of the same my cries ascended unto the Lord, the Fountain of all tender mercies, that He would please to show me what was the cause of that great power of darkness which did so oppress my spirit; and it pleased the Lord to show me, that a man there had been guilty of some gross wickedness; and when it appeared clear to me, to be required of me to express it publicly, it became a very great exercise to me, and some reasonings I had, before I gave up to make it public to that large meeting of Friends and other people. I laboured under it till toward the conclusion of the meeting, but finding my peace concerned very nearly in the matter, I stood up in the gallery and said, Under a sense of some gross wickedness

committed by some person not far from me, hath my spirit been borne down; which wickedness will in a short time break forth to the dishonour of Truth and grief of Friends. A great man, who sat in the gallery by me, started up and seated himself upon the rail of the gallery, with his eyes fixed on me, and I fastened in the Lord's dread my eyes on him, and said, We have a common maxim in Old England, touch a galled horse's back, and he will kick, and I am of the opinion he that kicks is not clear. He got down as fast as he could out of my way, for he not only prevented me from the view of the meeting by sitting there, but his uncleanness stood much in the way of my service.

After the meeting was over, several worthy Friends expressed to me the great concern they were under, lest he should either by money, or by subtilty, conceal the sin and wickedness, if such was committed; for I found there was a great fear and jealousy in the minds of Friends that something was wrong with the man, but I was until then altogether a stranger to their thoughts and to the state of the man; yet I advised that Friends should have a watchful eye over him and his family, for I told Friends, my spirit was easy in what I had delivered, and I believed the evil would not be concealed. So on my return his housekeeper had brought forth a child, and charged him with being the father of it, which he denied not. Friends then asked me, what they should do in the case? I said, Let the judgment of Truth go forth against all manifest wickedness, without respect of persons, that the ever blessed Truth, and such as live in it, may be kept clear and in good esteem before all men as much as may be.

Something of the like exercise I met with in a meeting in Pennsylvania, repeating several times what oppression my spirit was under, because of some yet hidden wicked-

ness, which in a short time would be brought to light, to the blemish of the Truth and great trouble to Friends. That very evening, after the meeting, a woman little thought on by Friends to be guilty of such a crime, went to a worthy Friend and told him, She was the woman that had done that great wickedness I had so much complained of, and had borne such a great load because thereof; and, as the honest Friend said, she wept bitterly, even in the very anguish of her soul. He came twelve miles the next day to Philadelphia, to acquaint me with the matter, and ask my advice, which I gave to this effect: If Friends find upon inquiry, in the proper season, that the woman continues heartily sorry and truly penitent for what she hath done, for godly sorrow worketh repentance, and if from such a hearty and penitent sense (which is to be felt beyond words) she gave forth a paper against her wicked doings, not so much to ingratiate herself into favour, as for the clearing of Truth and Friends, and for the ease and peace of her own mind, and took the blame and shame to herself, then Friends may pass it by; if not, Friends must set the judgment of Truth over manifest wickedness, as before mentioned.

I went to visit a meeting in that part called North Wales, which had not been long planted in that place, where there was a fine tender people; but few understanding English, Rowland Ellis was my interpreter. A good meeting it was, and Truth was over all: some, by the interpreter, expressed their great satisfaction in our visit to that meeting, which heretofore had not been counted as Friends, but since that have been taken notice of, and grown into good esteem with the body of Friends.

I found it much my work to be concerned in the Discipline of the Church, which was very low in many places,

yet I found there was a willingness in many Friends' minds to be helped in that needful affair; for surely it is a good fence or a help to keep the righteous in, and hurtful and wicked things and doings out, if the same be rightly handled, and extended as it ought to be in the love and wisdom of God.

There was one thing I had like to have omitted, which happened when I was in Rhode Island, viz., one Rogers came thither to offer (as he said) his gift in the Yearly Meeting amongst Friends; but they appearing in a great strait about him, although he had written in behalf of Truth's principles, and suffered imprisonment, and the taking away his wife from him, and was not so much as suffered to come to converse with his own son, but under a guard or watch which was set over him, to hear what passed betwixt them, as he told me and some other Friends, which Friends said was true; yet, under the consideration of the matter, and clearness of the man's conversation, Friends remained in a strait what to do; and desired that I would take the matter upon me, and reason the case with him, and try if I could persuade him to be easy, and not insist upon any such thing as to promise to receive his gift; for otherwise, he said, he would go where it would be received. I showed him that it was a thing impracticable among us, and in itself unreasonable, that we should be by any pre-engagement obliged to receive that which he might call a gift, before we heard it; if he believed he had a gift, he might speak, and, as the apostle said, we might judge. For it was not impossible but he who was a scholar and a wise man, and had a strong memory, might have gathered certain passages out of the Bible or other books, with what other interpretations he might have stored up, and speak of and call a gift, which we could

not receive as a real gift of the ministry, which stands in the Spirit and in the power; and if it be such, it will make way for itself,—if not, we cannot receive it. So he went away and troubled Friends no more that I heard of.

When I was at William Penn's country house, called Pennsbury, in Pennsylvania, where I staid two or three days, on one of which I was at a meeting and a marriage, and much of the other part of the time I spent in seeing (to my satisfaction) William Penn and many of the Indians (not the least of them) in council and consultation concerning their former covenants, now again revived upon William Penn's going away for England; all which was done in much calmness of temper and in an amicable way. To pass by several particulars, I may mention the following: one was, they never first broke covenant with any people; for, as one of them said, and smote his hand upon his head three times, that they did not make them *there* in their heads, but smiting his hand three times on his breast, said, they made them (*i.e.* their covenants) *there* in their hearts. And again, when William Penn and they had ended the most weighty parts for which they held their council, William Penn gave them match-coats, and some other things, with some brandy or rum, or both; which was advised by the speaker for the Indians to be put in the hand of one of their cassacks or kings, for he knew the best how to order them. Which being done, the said king used no compliments, neither did the people, nor the rest of their kings; but as the aforesaid king poured out his drams, he only made a motion with his finger, or sometimes with his eye, to the person which he intended to give the dram to. So they came quietly and in a solid manner, and took their drams and passed away without either nod or bow, any further than necessity required

them to stoop, who were on their feet, to him who sat on the ground or floor, as their choice and manner is; and withal I observed (and also heard the like by others) that they did not, nor I suppose ever do, speak two at a time, nor interfere in the least one with another that way in all their councils, as had been observed. Their eating and drinking was in much stillness and quietness.

I much desire that all Christians (whether they may be such in reality or profession only) may endeavour to imitate these people in those things which are so commendable, which may be a means to prevent loss of time and expedite business; as much as may be endeavouring to prevent above one speaking at a time in meetings of conference and of business.

When much of the matters were gone through, I put William Penn in mind to inquire of the interpreter, if he could find some terms or words that might be intelligible to them in a religious sense, by which he might reach the understandings of the natives, and inculcate into their minds a sense of the principles of Truth, such as Christ's manifesting himself to the inward senses of the soul, by his Light, Grace, or Holy Spirit, with the manner of the operations and working thereof in the hearts of the children of men, and how it did reprove for evil, and minister peace and comfort to the soul in its obedience and well-doing; or as near as he could, come to the substance of this in their own language. William Penn much pressed the matter upon the interpreter, to do his best in any terms that might reach their capacities, and answer the end intended; but the interpreter would not, either by reason, as he alleged, of want of terms, or his unwillingness to meddle in religious matters, which I know not, but I rather think the latter was the main reason which obstructed

him; therefore we found nothing was like to be done according to our desires in this matter, as the interpreter was but a dark man, and, as William Penn said, a wrong man for our present purpose.

William Penn said, he understood they owned a superior power, and asked the interpreter, What their notion was of God in their own way? The interpreter showed, by making several circles on the ground with his staff, till he reduced the last into a small circumference, and placed as he said, by way of representation, the Great Man (as they termed him) in the middle circle, so that he could see over all the other circles, which included all the earth. And we querying what they owned as to eternity, or a future state, the interpreter said, They believed when such died as were guilty of theft, swearing, lying, whoring, murder, etc., they went into a very cold country, where they had neither good fat venison nor match-coats, which is what they use instead of clothes to cover them withal, being of one piece in the form of a blanket or bed-covering; but those who died clear of the aforesaid sins, go into a fine warm country, where they had good fat venison and good match-coats, things much valued by these natives. I thought, inasmuch as these poor creatures had not the knowledge of God by the Scriptures, as we have who are called Christians, that what knowledge they had of the Supreme Being must be by an inward sensation, or by contemplating upon the works of God in the creation, or probably from some tradition handed down from father to son, by which it appears they acknowledge a future state of rewards and punishments; the former of which they express by warmth, good clothing and food, and the latter by nakedness, pining hunger, and piercing cold.

I have often thought and said, when I was amongst

them, that generally my spirit was very easy, and I did not feel that power of darkness to oppress me as I had done in many places among the people called Christians.

After William Penn and they had expressed their satisfaction, both for themselves and their people, in keeping all their former articles unviolated, and agreed that if any particular differences did happen amongst any of their people, they should not be an occasion of fomenting or creating any war between William Penn's people and the Indians, but justice should be done in all such cases, that all animosities might be prevented on all sides for ever; they went out of the house into an open place not far from it, to perform their *cantico* or worship, which was done thus: first, they made a small fire, and the men without the women sat down about it in a ring, and whatsoever object they severally fixed their eyes on, I did not see them move them in all that part of their worship, while they sang a very melodious hymn, which affected and tendered the hearts of many who were spectators. When they had thus done, they began (as I suppose is their usual manner) to beat upon the ground with little sticks, or make some motion with something in their hands, and pause a little, till one of the elder sort sets forth his hymn; and that being followed by the company for a few minutes, and then a pause; and then the like was done by another, and so by a third, and followed by the company, as at the first; which seemed exceedingly to effect them and others. Having done, they rose up and danced a little about the fire, and parted with some shouting like a triumph or rejoicing.

I leave Pennsbury, but intend before I leave the Indians, to say something more concerning that people, which I met with near Caleb Pusey's house in Pennsyl-

vania, viz.: I being walking in the wood, espied several wigwams or houses of the Indians, and drew toward them, but could not converse with them; but looking over them in the love of God, I found it to be my way, as I apprehended, to look for an interpreter and go to them again, which I did; and when I came to them and signified that I was come from a far country, with a message from the Great Man above (as they called God), and my message was to endeavour to persuade them that they should not be drunkards, nor steal, nor kill one another, nor fight, nor commit adultery, nor put away their wives, especially for small faults, which (as I understood) is usual with them to do; for if they did those things, the Great and Good Man above would be angry with them and would not prosper them, but bring trouble on them; but if they were careful to refrain from these evils before mentioned, then would God love them and prosper them, and speak peace to them, or very near these words. And when the interpreter expressed these things to them in their own language, they wept, and tears ran down their naked bodies, and they smote their hands upon their breasts, and I perceived said something to the interpreter. I asked what they said. He told me they said, All that I had delivered to them was good, and except the Great Man had sent me, I could not have told them those things. I desired the interpreter to ask them, how they knew what I had said to them was good? They replied, and smote their hands on their breasts, The Good Man here (meaning in their hearts), told them what I had said was all good. They manifested much love to me in their way, and I believe the love of God is to them, and all people in the day of their visitation.

Having left them I came to a Friend's house in the

lower part of Pennsylvania, who was in the office of a Justice of Peace, and had been convinced not long before by Thomas Story. When I came into the house, the man's wife was very uneasy and called me a deceiver, and wrung her hands and said, Woe is me, I am undone, my husband is deceived; and what, more deceivers come! Oh! how she lamented. I was somewhat struck with the passion the poor woman was in; however, I said little, but sat down, and after some time it rose in my mind to ask her, In what her husband was deceived; was he, since he came among us, any worse husband to her? If he was, it was a bad sign. Or was he a worse father to his children? or any worse neighbour? or in any particular thing which she could name, changed from better to worse, since he was convinced of the Truth? If not, she had no great reason to complain: if he had turned drunkard, whoremonger, railer, fighter, or become a vicious man, she would have had reason to complain; but she honestly owned, she had nothing to charge him with. He sat by me and heard all our discourse, but said nothing. I told her, she had made a lamentable outcry about her husband's being deceived, but had not convinced me of any cause that she had received from her husband for her sore complaint.

Being weary, having rode a great way that day, I with my companion, Richard Orm, took leave of her husband and went to our rest, and saw him no more till the next day in the evening, and when he came, I asked him, for what reason he left us so long, as he knew how uneasy his wife was about us, and that we had a great want of him? He said, He had been giving notice of the meeting twenty miles one way, and two men had given notice as far, each man his way; that was six-score miles in and out.

Our landlady, against we rose in the morning, had got

another woman, a justice's wife, to help her to dispute with us and overthrow us as she hoped, but in vain, for Truth proved too hard for them; although the other woman charged high in the morning, and said, We were no Christians. I said, it was easier to charge than to prove; how do you prove it? Because, said they, you deny the precious ordinance of Jesus Christ. I asked, if they could prove it to be such? They said, They did not question but they could. I said, they should do it from plain texts of Scripture, verbatim as it lies, without any inferences, consequences, or comments upon the places they insisted upon; and they agreed to it. But in case, I told them, they should fail and not prove (as they thought they could) that ordinance to be so appointed by Christ, I hoped then they would allow us to be Christians, notwithstanding what they had charged to the contrary; and they said, they would.

I then repeated all the preliminaries, and asked them, if they would agree to each particular? They said, they would. I desired Richard Orm to mind them and imprint them as much as might be in his memory, for it was like enough we should have occasion to call them in question before we had done, which came to pass not long after we began. They urged the twenty-eighth of Matthew in defence of water baptism, where Christ said to his disciples, Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and lo! I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world. Water not being mentioned, the disputants were at a stand, and said, it must be implied. I showed them that, by their agreements to the preliminaries, there were to be no inferences, but plain

Scripture. I told them, it was an unreasonable thing to undertake to unchristian a great body of religious people by a few inferences, which might be true or not true. Now when they had tugged at it, and searched the New Testament a great while, they could not find what they desired, although they urged what Peter said in a certain case, Who can forbid water, that these should not be baptized, who have received the Holy Ghost as well as we? I showed them, that there was a great disparity between a servant's question and a master's command. When they were even weary with searching, and could not find a positive ordinance by Christ for water baptism, they gave it over; and I asked them, if they had not fallen short of the proof of what they had so boldly charged upon us in the morning? My landlady confessed, They had fallen short of their expectation, but the other was in the mind, as she said, that it might be proved. I told her, she could not prove it from any plain text of Scripture.

My passionate landlady became more meek and friendly, and received the Truth in the love of it. We had a good meeting the next day, and she said, If I would stay that night, I should be as welcome as her own children, but if not, she blessed the Lord for my company, and the good she had already received by me, and parted with me in much brokenness of heart; and I heard she lived and died in good unity with Friends. But oh, how glad was her husband to see that great and sudden change wrought in her! It was the Lord's doings; to Him be the praise now and for ever, for He alone is worthy.

I had many comfortable meetings in my travels through these provinces, and good service. We were at a Yearly Meeting at Thirdhaven in Maryland, upon the eastern shore, to which meeting for worship came, with William

Penn, Lord Baltimore and his lady, with their retinue, but it was late when they came, and the strength and glory of the heavenly power of the Lord was going off from the meeting. So the lady was much disappointed, as I understood by William Penn, for she told him, She did not want to hear him, and such as he, for he was a scholar and a wise man, and she did not question but he could preach; but she wanted to hear some of our mechanics preach, as husbandmen, shoemakers, and such like rustics, for she thought they could not preach to any purpose. William Penn told her, some of these were rather the best preachers we had amongst us, or near these words. I was a little in their company, and I thought the lady to be a notable, wise, and withal a courteously carriaged woman. I was also in company with the Governor of Virginia, at our Friend Richard John's house, upon the West Cliffs in Maryland, for we both lodged there one night, and I heard that he had been studious in a book against Friends, called The Snake, and Friends greatly desired that he might have the answer, called The Switch, but knew not how to be so free with him as to offer it to him. I told Friends, I would endeavour to make way for it. Although he had seemed to be a man of few words, yet at a suitable interval I said to him, I had heard that he had seen a book, called The Snake in the Grass: he confessed he had. I desired he would accept of the answer, and be as studious in it as he had been in The Snake; which he promised he would, and took the book.

There happened a passage worthy of note, either in this or the preceeding governor's time in Virginia, as I was credibly informed, which was thus: the governor wanted a cooper to mend his wine, cider, and ale casks, and some told him there was a workman near, but he was a Quaker.

He said, if he was a workman, he made no matter what he professed; so the Quaker, such as he was, was sent for, and came with his hat under his arm. The governor was somewhat at a stand to see the man come in after that manner, and asked, if he was the cooper he had sent for? He said, Yes. Well, said the governor, are not you a Quaker? Yes, replied the man, I am so called, but I have not been faithful. He then asked, How long have you been called a Quaker? The poor man said, About twenty years. Alas! for you, poor man! said the governor, I am sorry for you.

By this we may clearly see, that such who walk most up to what they profess are in most esteem among the more thinking and religious people; and the unfaithful and loose libertine professors of the Truth are slighted, and I believe will be more and more cast out as the unsavoury salt, which is good for nought in religion, and is indeed trodden under the feet of men; for a great part of the men in the world have such an understanding as to know what we profess, and also what we should do and be in many things. Let us therefore walk wisely before all, and not be an occasion of stumbling, nor give offence either to Jew or Gentile, nor to the Church of God, that so we may indeed be as a city set upon a hill, which cannot be hid: nay, that may not desire to be hid, but rather that the inhabitants of the earth might see our good works, and have an occasion from thence administered to glorify the Father which is in heaven.

I having it on my mind to visit a meeting up the river called Perquimus, on the west side of the great river Choptank, and I being on the east side, Henry Hosier and some more Friends set forward with me in a small boat, not in good condition, but crazy, with only one small sail. We set

out, as we thought, in good time to reach our desired port; but when we were upon the great river (as I remember it is ten miles over the shortest way, but the manner of our crossing it made it more), the wind veered much against us, being then within about four points of our course, and it rained hard and was very dark, so that we could scarce see one another, and the water broke so into the boat, that it was most of one man's work to heave it out, and all our company were discouraged, and most of them very sea-sick: Henry Hosier, of whom I had the most hopes for help, said, that he could not steer the boat any longer. What with the extreme darkness, the roughness of the waves, boisterousness of the wind, and hard rain, I, unwell as I was, was obliged to undertake the steering of the boat, and not without some conflicts of mind, not having any certainty, from any outward rule, what way we went, having no fire, and the boat being open, we could not have any light to see our compass; but my faith was in the Lord, that He would bring us to shore, and I kept the boat as near the wind as she would sail, and told my poor sick and helpless company, I believed that we should not perish, although we might miss our port. But the like imminent danger, I think, I was never in before upon any water; but renowned over all be the great name of the Lord for ever, we put into the mouth of our desired river Perquimus as though we had seen it in the day or steered by a compass, neither of which we had the benefit of for several hours.

Here we went ashore and made a great fire under the river's cliff, and about midnight the moon rose, and it cleared up and froze, and was very cold. My companions falling asleep, I turned them over and pulled them from the fire as it increased, and put them nearer as it failed, but could not keep them awake. I sought logs of wood,

and carried them to and minded the fire, which was work enough for the remaining part of the night; but morning being come, we got into our cold icy boat and sailed away toward the meeting. When we were come among Friends, notice was given of a stranger being there, and a heavenly and sweet meeting it was, so that we thought we had a good reward for all our trouble, blessed be the name of the Lord now and for ever, for He is worthy: although He may see good to try us, sometimes one way and sometimes another, how should we know that we have any faith, if it be not tried? How shall we know that we have any true love to God, if it never be proved? The trial of the true believers' faith is more precious than gold. The excellent sayings of Job came into my mind, Behold, I go forward, but He is not there; and backward, but I cannot perceive Him: on the left hand, where He doth work, but I cannot behold Him: He hideth Himself on the right hand, that I cannot see Him. Job xxiii., 8, 9. And then in verse the 10th, he, like a man in the true faith, saith, The Lord knoweth the way that I take, and when He has tried me, I shall come forth as gold. And the more vehement that the fire is, the more it destroys the dross, and the more pure and weighty the gold is which has passed through the most severe fires. Read thou, and understand this that canst.

I had a meeting, when in Virginia, at a Friend's house whose name was Matthew Jordan, and something which I said in the meeting somewhat offended a young woman, a Presbyterian, and not having, as she said, a suitable opportunity while I was there, to discourse with me, being busy in her master's affairs (for she was the Friend's housekeeper), she desired liberty of her master to go to the next meeting, that there she might ease her mind to me about

the offence I had given her in the first meeting; (it was something about election, and they told me what it was, but not writing it down it went from me,) and accordingly she came to the meeting, where the Lord's mighty power broke in upon us, to the tendering of many hearts, to Friends' mutual satisfaction, and it proved a good day to the aforesaid young woman: her heart was as if it had melted within her, and she shed many tears, and I am satisfied went from the meeting in fear and in great joy,—in fear how to walk as not to offend Christ the Elect, which before she could talk of, but now she had met with and he had opened her state to her; and joy, that she had met with the Messiah, the Elect of the Father, His choice and beloved Son; so that she could now say, Where are the wise? Where is the scribe? Where is the disputer of this world? All her brisk talkative qualities were swallowed up in the feeling of the internal, enlightening presence of Christ.

When she returned to her master's, before mentioned, he asked her if she had got satisfaction? meaning, had she had any discourse with me, and was satisfied? She replied, she was satisfied. Some time after I met with her in Philadelphia, plain and Truth-like, but knew not who she was at the first. The manner of the working of the Truth is to humble the creature, and bring it into contrition, tenderness, and fear, with true self-denial.

I come now to mention something that happened in my going over James' river, toward a Yearly Meeting in Virginia Alighting at an inn by the river-side, where we refreshed ourselves, there was a poor little child that cried so exceedingly, that I was uneasy to hear it, and asked the mother what was the matter? She said, it had cried most of the time since it was born, and they were almost

off their feet with it, or to that effect. I told her, I believed I could give the child something which would do good, and she readily agreed to it; and I gave it a little of something then, and ordered her to give it twice more in four or five days time. But when I returned the child was better, and oh! how glad the poor woman was to see me, and spoke more in my commendation than was to my satisfaction, and was kind to Friends afterwards for my sake.

Now we came to ferry over the river, being, as I remember, five horses, and nine people. There was Jane Pleasant, a public Friend, and her man-servant who rode before her upon a great horse, high in flesh; and about the midst of the river, it being two miles over, he rose upon his hind feet, and flung himself upon the edge or gunnel of the boat, half into the river. The fall of the horse, and the motion of the other horses thereupon, caused the boat to make such sallies that it took in water, and was very likely to sink; but before he could have time to rise again, or to make any more springs, I took several young men by the shoulders, and flung them upon his neck to keep him down, and told them, as fast as I could, why I did so. Now I had to deal with the ferryman, who was about to strip for swimming, and said, we should all be drowned; but for his part he could swim, and was about to leap into the river, for, he said, the boat would either break or sink. I told him, it was soon enough for him to swim, when he saw the boat either break or sink, and if he would not row, then I would: with much entreaty, he took the oar again and rowed us to the shore. But in our imminent danger I looked over my tender friends (for so they appeared to me), and thought in my heart what a pity it would be, if all these were

drowned! yet the thought of my own drowning never entered my mind until I was got over the river, which was a mercy to me, and a great means to keep out disorder and confusion, which commonly attend sudden surprises and frights, or else they make people dead-hearted and almost senseless.

As I had now an occasion to observe, as well as in some imminent dangers I had seen before, where I happened to be, I find it an excellent thing to be, as much as we can, always ready, and by frequently thinking upon death, it is not so surprising when it does come. This is a great point of true wisdom, to number our days, so as to remember our latter end. The want of thus comtemplating and truly thinking on what preparation we are in to look death in the face, and to appear before the great Judge of both quick and dead, was the cause of the complaint, Oh! that my people were wise, that they understood this, that they would consider their latter end. The great remissness of such considerations among people bespeak folly and great insensibilities, and that the heart is hardened through a habit of sinning: oh! that I might prevail with the children of men to awake. Arise, you that sleep in sin, and are at ease therein, that you may come to hear inwardly the call of the Son of God. That your souls may not only live here to serve God, but also may live eternally in bliss with him, is the desire of my soul for the whole bulk of mankind; for my life has often appeared not dear to me in comparison of the saving of the souls of the children of men.

I have often thought of Moses, how far he went for saving of Israel, and how far Paul went for the saving of his kinsfolk after the flesh. It was a great demonstration that these great and good men had great faith and interest

in the Lord, and also a very great love to His people; and such whose eyes are truly opened, cannot but see it is the love of God, and love to the souls of men, that constrains us thus to take our lives as in our hands, and labour under many weary steps, and many perils by sea and by land, and in the wilderness, cold, and sometimes in tumults and noises, sometimes in watchings and fastings, that we have been sometimes spectacles to men; but the Lord hath given us faith and patience to bear and overcome all, as we have singly stood in His heavenly counsel, and been truly devoted to His will in all things.

It may not be amiss to mention a particular thing which happened to me before I left long Island, viz.: knowing that my landlady, Samuel Bowne's wife, had a very sore breast, by which she had much trouble, and had no less than five tents in it, and she being a sensible and a serviceable woman, something came with a concern upon my mind to administer unto her breast, with a belief it would heal her. I reasoned about it until I had got one foot into the stirrup for mounting my horse, but I grew uneasy for being dilatory in doing that which came into my mind; so I went in again and said, Mary, I am come back to advise thee what thou shouldest do, by which, I believe, thou wilt be healed, although I cannot stay to see it done. I believe, said she, and intend to follow thy advice; but asked, what would become of all those tents? I told her, the poultice would draw them all out and give her ease; and accordingly I heard it did, for she slept twelve hours immediately after the time of the application, and when she awoke the tents were all drawn out, and she had little further trouble with it. So it is good to mind Truth and the workings of it in all things. I met with the great doctor (as he was esteemed), who had it under

hand, and he said, I was a bold fellow. I said, it proved well. He answered, It was well for me it did.

Something more which I have before omitted occurs to my memory: when I was in that part of Virginia toward North Carolina, to visit Friends, a very great mist arose, and we went wrong, until the guides were so far lost that they confessed, they knew not east from west, nor on which hand we had left the road, although it was in the fore part of the day, but neither wind or sun to be felt or seen; then I told them, I would try what I could do, if they did but know what quarter we should go to. They said, we should go toward the south. Then I brought out my little compass which I had made before I left England, and took it in my hand and steered by it, till we all came into the road; for that inward sense I had did persuade me that we were to the westward of the road. So leaning a little to the eastward of the south point, we came right as before, and when so, the guides much rejoiced, and said, I was fitter to be guide in a wilderness country than they. My compass was not so big as a tailor's thimble, which had often been of use to me and others with me.

CHAPTER VI.

Sails for Barbadoes—Visits Bermuda—Interview with the Governor—His Kindness—Judge Stafford—His Love and Zeal for the Truth—Incidents of the Voyage—Sickness—Controversy on Baptism—Sails for England—Arrival—His Marriage.

Now the time came on for my leaving all my near and dear friends in those parts, and I embarked for the Islands the 6th of the Ninth month, 1702, with my companion James Bates, on board of a sloop, Samuel Salter master, for Barbadoes, and we put into Bermuda in our way. Soon after we landed, being on the 21st of the same month, we were sent for by Governor Bennett, to come before him, and being near his door, a man came and clapped me on the shoulder, as we were walking on our way, and said roughly to us, You must go before the Governor, and seemed to hasten us. I replied meekly, I am willing to go as fast as I can, but I have been very sea-sick, and can go but weakly. The man fell from his roughness, and bid us take time, and carried himself very civilly to us, and put us by a man who was keeping sentry at the Governor's door with his musket on his arm; and when we were come into a large room the man left us, and we staying a while, I began to reason in myself, what if the Governor should be a rigid man and be severe to us, and either confine or punish us? But I said in my heart, Lord, Thou that knowest all things, knowest that I have not only offered up my liberty, but life also, for Thy name

and Gospel's sake! and immediately all the fear and reasonings about human power were taken away from me.

I being not well and weary with walking from the ship, sat down to rest myself unbidden, when there came a friendly well-carriaged young woman, who I supposed to be a servant, and spoke kindly to us. I desired her to do as much for us as to give us something that was small to drink, for we were very thirsty, and had been much out of health, and were not well recovered since we came from the sea, having had rough weather. She brought us wine and water, and a thing to mix them in: so taking most of a glass of water, and a very little wine poured into it, I drank and was very well refreshed. By this time the Governor called us into an upper room, and as I came near to the top of the stairs, going but faintly, for reasons before given, the Governor put forth his hand and reached to take hold of mine, and like a tender father drew me up, and led me along toward a great window, and stood and looked on me, and said, He believed he knew what I was, and my business too. I replied, it might be so, and asked, if he was the Governor of that place? He said, he was, and bowed his head. I then spoke to him in the love of God, and said, Thy countenance bespeaks moderation, and the apostle said, Let your moderation appear to all men, for the Lord is at hand; and it was with me to say to him, the Lord of heaven and earth bless thee and all thine. He bade us sit down, and gave us each a glass of wine, and inquired from whence we came? I told him, my home was in Old England, but it was long since I was there; my companion's was in Virginia. He wanting to know the affairs in Europe, I told him, there was a merchant belonging to the same ship that we did, who was lately come from Europe, and I thought was a man of parts

and memory, and well versed in the affairs of those parts of the world, and when we came into this place he was with us. The Governor then sent for him, and when he came, he answered his expectation in resolving all or most of his questions, for the knowledge of the news appeared to me to be the young man's talent. Having done with and dismissed him, he said he must now have some discourse with us: then rose up all the great men who were with the Governor, to make way that I might come near him. I said, if it was the Governor's mind, I had rather sit where I was, for I sat well in the air, and that suited well with my present weakness: so he bade them all sit down, and they did so.

Now, said he, I want to know the reasons why you, as a people, where you live, do not assist the king and country with men and arms, for their and your own defence and safety, against all that may attempt or endeavour your hurt. I replied, the most convincing reasons I have to offer to the Governor are, we have neither precept nor example from Christ or his apostles, to use the sword to hurt one another withal. No, said he; what then means that saying of our Saviour, when he bade him that had not a sword, sell his cloak or coat and buy one? I replied, one of his disciples answered and said, Lord, here are two. Christ said, It is enough. Now how two swords can be enough to answer for a general precept, I leave the Governor and all these men to judge. So after a little pause, he said, In case you were assaulted by robbers that would break your house, and take what they could get from you; or upon the highway, and would take your purse or horse, what would you do in that case? I replied, I could not directly answer what I should do in such a case, because through the Lord's mercy I was never yet so assaulted;

but it appears most likely that I should endeavour to keep my house from being broken up, and yet withal be tender of men's lives: and as to the other assault, inasmuch as it is well known I do not provide any outward weapon for my defence, neither sword, pistol, nor any other such like weapon, therefore I must rely upon the Lord for protection and help, who is able to rescue me out of the hands of all such ungodly men; or if He does not, I must endeavour to bear what the Lord suffers such to do unto me. The Governor said, You say well; for inasmuch as you have not provided any thing for your defence, you have nothing to fly to but the Lord. You say very well; and said, he hoped what he had offered had not given any offence. I replied, it was so far from that, we were glad he was so free with us; yet if he pleased to dismiss us, we should be willing to be going, for night came on. He said, there were some of our Friends would be glad to see us. I replied, I understood there were some further on the island that did own us, but how much they were of us I could not tell, for I had not seen any of them. He asked whether we had a mind to go by water or land, for he had a boat, and a couple of hands should carry us where we would; or if we had a desire to ride, he had two horses, we might take them and keep them as long as we staid upon the island. I endeavoured to persuade him to let us go without troubling himself any further, for I was sensible of his good will and love to us, and having his countenance was more than we expected, and as much as we desired. He still urging to know after what manner we would choose to go, I told him, I was very sensible of his generosity to us who were strangers, and if he would be easy and let us pass, we had wherewithal to defray our necessary charges either by water or land, as would answer best with our convenience.

He pressed upon us to accept of his offer, for he said, he did not do it in compliment to us. Then seeing no way but to accept of his generous offer, I said, riding at present would be much more acceptable to me, considering how I had been lately fatigued at sea, of which I was not yet well. He immediately gave orders for the horses to be brought to the door, which being done, and we having notice thereof, I rose up and made an offer to go, and the Governor likewise rose up and came and took me by the hand, and so we went down the large stairs into the great room where we first entered in the Lord's dread and holy fear. Read this, thou that canst, and withal learn to understand. Here I had resigned my life and all to the Lord who gave it; and my life at that time, as at many other times, was not dear to me for Christ's sake; and being thus resigned, I felt the love of God, and a measure of that life was manifest in which I had dominion over men, bonds, and over death and the powers of darkness, blessed be the Lord for ever.

Now coming to take horse, I looked out at the door and saw two horses, and a man holding them beyond the pavement, and the sentry as before in the street, and the horse next the door, which I supposed I was to ride on, had a saddle on the back of it set about with three rows of shining silver lace, I thought about two inches broad each. The Governor holding me by the hand and looking in my face, it is not unlikely but he might think, as I used to say, I looked very sheepishly at it. He said to me, I am apt to think you are not used to ride upon such a saddle as this. I told him, if he could let me have one more like myself (plain) without much trouble, I should like it the better, but if not I could ride on it, I thought, without much straitness, in case of necessity. He answered, he

could not, for horses and saddles too were scarce on that island, for the one was that which he rode on, and the other was for his man; but, he said, he would tell me how to prevent all this. If, said he, you get over the inlet of water, though he questioned it, because the wind blew very strong in the mouth or inlet of the river; but, he said, he spoke not this to hinder our taking his horses,—if we got over, he said, we should come to Richard Stafford's, an old judge of life and death, and might ask there for the cover of his saddle, which ties on with little straps at each corner and hides all this, and then it will be like yourself; but if the ferryman says he cannot carry the horses over, what man soever you meet, white or black, if capable, tell him he must bring me my horses, he dares do no other but bring them; and be sure you take no further thought for them. And if we met with any thing in his liberty that might trouble us, let him but know and he would help it, if it lay in his power; and so, with his blessing on us, we took leave of him and came to the water-side, but could not get the horses over, therefore sent them back again, and intended to have staid at the ferry-house all night, but the boat was about going over as we alighted; and notice being got some way or other to the Judge's ear, that there were two strangers on the other side of the water, he had sent a boat and a couple of men for us, who said we must go, for the Judge said he could not sleep until we came; whatsoever the matter is, we know not, said they. So we went, after asking if they at the ferry-house had been at any cost or trouble on our account in providing supper, for as yet we had not eaten any thing since we landed; the people said, No, they had not done any thing which we should pay for. It grew dark and very stormy, and the sea broke over the boat, so that some

of us were forced to hold our coat-laps one to touch another on the weather side, to keep out the breakers of the waves, that they might not fill the boat, and we came safe over to the Judge's house, and no sooner got into the passage but his friendly wife met us, and asked us, If we were the strangers her husband had sent for? I said, we are strangers. She bid us follow her to the Judge, and we did so. When we came to him he rose up, and took the candle in his hand and said, Are you the strangers that I have sent for? I said, who thou mayest expect I know not, but we are strangers. When he had looked well in my face, he set down the candle and said, What a mercy is this, that the Lord should send men from I know not where, in His love to visit me! and took me in his arms and kissed me; and I said to him, the Lord of heaven and earth bless thee; and we shed many tears and wept together.

As I entered the house, I felt the love of God, and His glory, I thought, shone in and filled every room as I passed through them, and I said, peace be to this place, and I felt it was so. He inquired of our travels, and from whence we came, of which we gave him a brief account; he also asked if I knew any thing of the family of Staffords, at Lahorn, near Haverfordwest, in South Wales? I told him all I knew about them, both of the dead and of the living; with which he was pleased, and said he had not heard of them many years, and that family were his near kindred.

Now as the Judge was somewhat troubled with the gout, I found his usual bed-time drew near, and I made an offer to go away lest I should discommode him, yet he appeared unwilling to part with us; but considering his own ailments and our early rising in the morning, he at length consented. But before we parted, his wife asked

leave of him to go with us on the morrow to the meeting, to which he readily assented, if he was not worse of his distemper; and then ordered how we should ride, and which negro should go, not only to help his wife but us also, and take our horses when there was occasion, and do any thing he could for us; and indeed so he did, and appeared to me to run on his feet without much trouble, being a lively young man.

I omitted before, that the Judge asked, if we had seen the Governor, and if he was kind to us? I told him, he was very friendly to us, and said, if we met with any trouble in his liberty that he could help us in, only let him know and he would right us. The Judge said, it was very well, and he was glad of it, I perceived the Judge was rather a moderator of the Governor, he being an ancient wise man, and had lived long as a judge upon the island, and understood (it is like) more fully the state of things there than the Governor could be capable of, he being but a young man, although he appeared to be a wise man, and, as William Penn said, came of an ancient and honourable family in England, which he knew very well, whose name was Bennett. Afterwards I told William Penn how it had fared with us on that island, and especially the kindness of the two chief men in power there; and William Penn wept and said, he had not heard any account of this nature that he had been so much affected with, as he remembered, these many years.

Now we left the Judge until the morning, and got some small refreshment, it being late, and I had been faint for several hours for want of eating, but the Lord's heavenly power bore me up over all, so that at times I felt no want of any thing: oh! renowned over all be the name of the mighty God, now and for ever. We went to bed, and

when morning came, I with my companion were stirring early, having eight miles to the meeting, and it being in the latter end of the Ninth month, we were willing to be in such time that we might give some notice to the people. I was walking in our lodging-room early, and the Judge's wife came to the door and asked, if she might speak with us? I said she might; then she came in and said, she had a message from her husband to us. I queried what it was. She said, he desired we would come and pray for him before we went away. I desired she would favour us so much as to lay before her husband something which I had to say, and she promised she would. Well then, tell the Judge, that if he will suffer us to come into his room, and sit down and wait upon the Lord, as our manner is in such a case as this, if it please the Lord to move us by His Holy Spirit to pray, we may; but if not, let not the Judge take it amiss, for we are willing to be at the Lord's disposing in all things. She went and, I believe, as she said, laid the matter before him as I had delivered it to her, for she was a woman of good understanding, and came back again to us in a very little time. I asked what the Judge said? She replied, he said, Let the men take their own way, and whether they pray for me or not, I believe they are men of God. So after some little respite, we being brought to the Judge's bed-side, sat down and waited upon the Lord, who was pleased in His love and by His mighty power to break in upon us, and also opened my mouth in His gift of grace and of supplication, in which gift, ardent and fervent cries went up to the Lord of heaven and earth, that He would send health and salvation to the Judge, and also to all his family, and to all people far and near, that all everywhere might repent, and come to the knowledge of the Truth and be saved. The Judge wept aloud, and a

mighty visitation it was to his family, and especially to himself and his tender wife. We left the Judge in a fine frame of spirit, and no doubt near the kingdom, having his blessing and earnest request, that when we could reach his house we would not fail to come to it, for we were very welcome; and I found and felt it so, and it was mostly our lodgings. His wife and foot-page went with us to all the meetings, except one, while we were on the island, which was about two weeks, in which time we had many good opportunities among a sober-behaved and well-carriaged people, amongst whom we met with no opposition, but had large, quiet meetings.

When we were clear, as we thought, of the island, we went to take our solid leaves of the Governor, acknowledging his civility and generosity to us strangers, and I told him and the Judge, that they would not want their reward for what they had done to us, and such who should take their lives as in their hands, and come in the love of God to visit these remote parts of the world, which we durst not have undertaken if we had not believed it required of us by the Almighty, and our peace concerned in it, as also the glory of God, and the good of the children of men; these are the motives to those our great undertakings, or words to that purpose. So we parted in much love with these great men, especially the Judge, with tears on his face, as also his tender and friendly wife, who had been very serviceable to us in ordering meetings and making way for us, and none like her in all the island that we met withal, she being given up to that service, for the encouraging of Truth and Friends in what she was capable of.

Being invited to a Friend's house to dine one day, when we were sat down at the table, the woman of the house

desired that one of us would say grace; from which I took an occasion to show her, and several more in the company, who appeared not much more grown in the Truth than she, that since we had been a people, we had both believed and accordingly practiced that true prayer was not performed without the help of the Holy Spirit of God, and no man could pray aright and acceptably without it; nor was it in man's power to have it when he pleased; therefore it is man's place to wait upon the Lord for the pouring forth of this gift upon him, and also to know whether it be required of him to pray, so as to be heard by man, or only to pray secretly, so as to be heard of God, as did Hannah, and many more have done, which, as they do aright, no doubt but, as Christ said to his disciples, their Father will hear them in secret, and reward them openly, or to this effect. With which they all appeared satisfied.

We then went on board our vessel, and set sail with a fair wind for the east end of the island in order for Barbadoes, but soon after we got out to the mouth of that inlet where we arrived first, the wind came full against us, and we put in there again; and the master, although not called one of us, said in a friendly manner, What is the matter now? This is along of you, Mr. Richardson (as he was pleased to call me, although I often showed my dislike to it); you have something to do yet on the island. I said, I knew not of any thing; but he seemed positive, and withal said, if the wind came fair at midnight he would call if I was willing; if not, he would stay as long as I pleased. I said, I knew not of any thing to hinder, but he might call as soon as the wind came fair. So we parted, only giving him an account that we intended to go for the Judge's house. It was late in the evening when we got there, and the Judge was gone to bed, but his wife

was up, who lifted up her hands with more than ordinary surprise and much joy, and said, she was always glad to see me, but never more than now. I said, why so? She then began to tell how since I went away, there had been a man with the Judge, who had incensed him against me all that ever he could, and said, he knew me in England, and that I was broke, and came into those parts to preach for a living. I asked what her husband said to all that? She said, his answer was to the man, that he believed I was no such person, but an honest man; yet the accuser seemed very positive. I said, it would be well if this man could be brought with me to the Judge's face, that he might be convinced, not only of the man's ignorance of us as a people, but of me in particular, and his envy against me be made known. Upon which I opened to her the case of such journeys and services, how we proceeded, and how the meetings were constituted in which we did so proceed and from whence we had certificates, from Monthly, Quarterly, or Meetings of Ministers to which we belonged, and from Friends in the several provinces and islands where we travelled, if we desired them, many of which I could show the Judge if time would admit; but she said, lest we should be called away in haste, she craved to see some of those certificates. I showed her them, beginning at the first, wherein Friends of Kelk, now Bridlington Monthly Meeting, in Yorkshire, to Friends in America, showed not only their full unity with this my present journey, but also with my service for the Truth and conversation in the same, where I had lived and travelled, and that I had settled my outward affairs to Friends' satisfaction, under many hands variously written.

When this great and wise woman saw this, she said, It is enough; but I showed her other certificates from

divers places, wherein Friends had signified sufficiently their unity and satisfaction with me. I likewise informed her, that in case any man, not approved by us as a minister, did take upon him to impose his preaching upon any who were strangers to him, such as knew him took care to acquaint the churches therewith, if his intentions could be known, that no impostor could do any hurt: all which she admired and said, she had never heard so much before, neither did she think there had been such excellent order in the world amongst any people.

Having thus acquainted her with our Order and Discipline, and afterwards informed her of the cause of our unexpected return, I renewed my proposal of having my accuser before the Judge. She told me, she had good place with her husband, and would endeavour to obtain it; and accordingly, after talking with him, she let me know that the Judge expressed his readiness to do me any service which lay in his power, and was of opinion my accuser durst not face either him or me in that affair; but that if the wind continued against us, he would try to find him out and bring him, which might be of service; but if the wind favoured, she thought I might be easy to go, as indeed, I was, and the more so, considering that our Captain Salter, who lived near the Judge on the same island, had showed a great deal of patience and good disposition to us-ward for about two weeks, yet would gladly be gone. So about midnight we were called to go on board the ship, for the wind was fair, if we were ready. I replied, we come quickly; and so we did, and took leave of all we saw of the family, and remembered our dear love with grateful acknowledgments to the Judge, for the civility and kindnesses he had done to us, with reasons why we could not see him, for he had been afflicted for

some time with the gout, and was now fallen into some rest, and we going very early away, were not at own disposal.

I admired the Lord's good Providence in all this; and there was something of a reach from the same watchful Providence to order that to be put into my certificate which did so fully remove that slur this enemy would have fastened upon me, (*i.e.*) that I broke in England, and could not pay my debts, and therefore was come into these remote parts of the world, where I was unknown, to preach for a livelihood. But the contrary fully appeared, that I was known and well beloved too, and had effects to discharge any just demand upon me, blessed be the worthy name of the Lord now and for ever.

Now I may say something of our affairs upon the sea in this voyage. When Captain Salter had taken us in passengers at Philadelphia for Barbadoes, it being a time of war, and people somewhat afraid of shipping goods, he said, he was to have two honest Quakers passengers, and he did not fear being taken by privateers nor pirates. I was troubled at his confidence in us, and told him so, and that it was much if the Lord did not suffer us to be taken, that he might see men were not to be depended upon, but that we ought to depend upon the Lord alone for protection and deliverance. However, in much less time than was expected, goods came, and we were loaded and gone. We had rough weather before we came to Barbadoes (I have given an account of Bermuda), especially about the Tropic of Cancer we had very high winds, and I was extremely sea-sick, and so was my companion, and I could eat little, but was treated with remarkable civilities by the captain; for in and about that latitude there are fish not unlike herrings, which fly from wave to wave, and

by dipping their fins or wings in the water, they will fly a great way, especially when they are chased by fishes of prey, and almost every morning there were of those fishes found on the ship's deck; and the captain often said, as his manner was, Mr. Richardson, these are sent for you, or for your breakfast, and seeing it is so, I will dress them myself, for I know, said he, my cook is so greasy you can hardly eat of his cookery, which was very true; and therefore he would wash his hands, and lay a clean napkin on his arm, and tell me he would dress me my breakfast in the best fashion he could. I asked him, why he would put himself to so much trouble? He said, he never waited on a man in all his life with so much pleasure, and if I were going into any country where he was going, I should not pay any thing for my passage; so much respect he showed to me.

Now it happened in the course of this voyage, when we were within a few leagues of Barbadoes, one morning early, as soon as day appeared, he that was aloft (upon the watch to look out, as the manner of mariners is, especially in the times of wars and danger) espied a ship, which he and the rest of our most knowing men supposed to be a Turkish frigate, of considerable strength: however, it was a great vessel, and appeared to have a great many guns. When we first saw her, she appeared to be within gun-shot. But oh! what a surprise and fright our ship's crew were in! I had not often seen the like. Our vessel being deep loaded, although a good sailer, was less than that which chased us, and to run for it appeared the only way for us to escape, hauling as close to the wind as we could to keep the sails full. And the vessel being stiff with its great burden, endured sail well; and indeed they crowded so much sail that I told them I feared they would bring the

rigging by the board: so thus we laboured until noon, and then our captain had lost all his confidence in the Quakers, and said, we shall be taken; for the ship has gained upon us for several hours, and we have done what we can, and are all spent. I walked upon the main-deck under no small concern of mind, and Truth rose, and I found it open in the Truth, that we should not be taken. The captain said, binding it with some asservations, We shall certainly be taken. I said, No, we shall not, unless by our mismanagement. Alas! said he, you are such a man as I never met withal. Do not you see the frigate or Sallee-man, for that he called her, is just going to fire a broad-side at us, opening the gun ports, and laying the ship broad-side upon us, and levelling at her as well as they can? And indeed our captain, although he was a stout man, yet appeared very ghastly and dead-hearted, and said in a tone, which bespoke both affliction and trouble, to me, Go into my cabin, or some where under the deck, for they will fire immediately; and that where I walked I could hardly escape either the shot or the rigging falling upon me. I said they will not fire, and desired him to be easy, for we should come to no damage by that ship. Well then, he asked what they should do, for the enemy was just upon us? I said, I would fetch them a bottle or two or more of my best brandy, and they might take as much as might do them good; but have a care of more, and ply away awhile, and you will see they will fall back and we shall leave them. The captain said, although there was no human probability of escaping, yet for my sake they would try, and to work they went. I think I never saw men on board of any ship work like them for some hours, and we soon perceived we outsailed them, and by the time it began to be dark we had left them considerably.

Now all fire and light were forbidden, except what could not be avoided, and all noise, and a council was held to consult what way to steer, whether the nearest or most common way for the island, or about; for it was reasonable to conclude the adversary would way-lay us, if he could, before we came to the island; and the captain said, what I said in the case should be done. After some deliberation I told him, I was most easy in steering the nearest course; which we did, and saw our adversary no more.

We came to the island next day, in much joy that we had escaped so imminent a danger; but I was very ill in a fever when I landed, which had been growing upon me for several days (this being the Sixth-day of the week, and 18th of the Tenth month). I was so poorly, that several thought I must die; but I stood resigned in the will of God, whether to die or live. The First-day being come, I went to the meeting, though with great difficulty, being very weak, where I sat under more than usual exercise, reasonings, and conflict of spirit for some time, about my present condition, which was weak and low, and in my own apprehension unlikely to be of any service; notwithstanding all the troubles and hazards of the sea and robbers, and other jeopardies in coming here, I was now thus disabled and laid by as useless. These things were an occasion to me to consider, whether I had not missed my way in something or other? Many particulars were brought to my mind, whether I had discharged myself faithfully where I had been; and when I looked back and took a view of my past travels and services in the work of the Ministry and Discipline of the Church, my conduct and whole conversation, I saw nothing but I was clear of the blood of all men, as also clear and well satisfied both as to the time of my coming, as well as to the coming itself

unto this island. There appeared yet two things in my way: first, if this place should be my grave, such as might not watch over me with the best eye may say, If he had gone at the Lord's command, no doubt but He would have brought him back again; and secondly, as I had two little children in England, if I finished my course here, they would be left fatherless and motherless. And I said before the Lord, Let not my end bring dishonour to Thy great name, nor any blemish to the Truth which I have loved, and laboured for the promotion of from my childhood.

When I had thus, or to this purpose, appealed to the Lord, I felt great quietness and resignation of mind; and as I thus sat, a Friend, well thought of by several, began to speak in the meeting, and it opened in my mind that he was not wholly redeemed from having some thoughts that elementary water had not yet ended its service,—I mean in point of dipping. I would have shut it out, for the man appeared a wise, zealous man, and I being altogether a stranger, could not remember I had heard of his name; yet the matter continued, and I thought, for my satisfaction, I might ask him the question,—if he was a right-spirited Friend, he would not be hurt; if he was not, he stood in need of help, or at least it was high time for Friends to have a more perfect knowledge of him. So I leave this a while, and return to the other part of the meeting, which was very remarkable.

During my sitting, as before, under much weakness of body, yet quiet in mind, the living virtue or heavenly power of Christ sprang up in my inward man, like healing and suppling oil, which so effectually helped me every way, that I could say feelingly and experimentally, miracles are not ceased; for I was raised beyond my own ex-

pectation, and all others who knew my weak state, to give testimony to the glorious coming and manifestation of Christ in power, spirit, life, light, and grace, for the help, health, and salvation of all the children of men, who receive, believe in, and obey his spiritual knocks, reproofs, and heavenly calls in the soul, without any lessening to his humanity. Great cause have I with all the living to love, value, honour, and reverence the great and mighty name of Him who hath helped and healed, by sending His eternal word of living power into our hearts.

Returning with other Friends to my quarters from this good meeting, not to be forgotten by me, came the before mentioned Friend to see me; and I having, as I told him, a desire to speak privately with him, he replied, there were none there but his good friends, and I might speak my mind. I told him, what I had to say related chiefly to himself, and in such a matter as he might not be willing to have it exposed; but he would not hear, and said I might speak it there. I desired he would not take an offence at what I had to say, for I did suppose it to be a secret to all there but himself; and then I said, the matter is, when thou was speaking in the meeting, it sounded in the ear of my soul, as if one had said, This man, meaning thee, is not wholly redeemed out of a belief in John's ministration of water, as not having done its work. Now the matter is before thee, thou knowest whether what I received be true or false: in the first place, I inquire for my own satisfaction. His answer, if it may be called one, was as followeth: he said, The disciples of Christ, when they baptized with water, knew that it was the mind of their great Master that they should so baptize. I said, I know not that any of the apostles did ever say so much as thou wouldest insinuate; for both by what Peter and

Paul say, it appears very natural to be the mind of Christ, only to condescend to so much as was done by the apostles in that of water, because of the people's weakness; and no question but the Jews were very much settled in the belief of John the Baptist's dispensation of water to repentance, and also of the circumcision and purifying, and many other things used amongst that people. Now Peter, when the converts were grown stronger in the faith and in the grace of God, told them, It is not the putting away the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience toward God, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ; and Paul, although he did once in condescension circumcise Timothy, yet told the people at another time, that neither circumcision nor uncircumcision availeth any thing, but a new creature; and if they were circumcised, Christ would profit them nothing: and he also thanks God, he baptized no more than Crispus and Gaius, and the household of Stephanus; besides these, he knew not that he had baptized any other; for Christ sent him not to baptize, but to preach the Gospel. And I am, as I said to the Friend, of the prophet's mind, when he said, The elements should melt as with fervent heat. If the Gospel power be not this fervent heat, I know not what it is, nor what is able to melt away the elements. But I further said, if he was a Baptist, he should deal plainly and honestly with Friends, and tell them what he was, and not preach one thing, and keep such reserves to himself.

Friends admired and said, they had not the least thought of any such thing by him; so he said, he would not fall out with me. I told him I was as much for peace as he was, but at the same time I would have us to mind that we were sound in the faith and preachers of the Gospel, and not go back again into the beggarly elements; for

what is all in comparison of the love of God in Christ Jesus.

I had good service and great satisfaction upon this island, although I found Truth so low that it might then be truly said, as formerly, By whom shall Jacob or the true Seed arise, which is in our apprehensions but small, and much pressed down with the many things that are hurtful, especially by the love of money, pride, and forgetfulness of God.

I was invited on board a great transport-ship, whereof one Reed was master, who remembered me when I was but young, and was travelling to or near Scarborough: he was loving to me and several Friends who were with me, and I had good service on board. There was also on board a French Protestant, now a captain of the English transport soldiers, bound for Jamaica: he lodged at John Groves, and was a very civil man, and said, if I would go with Captain Reed, who offered if I was going to carry me to Jamaica free, he would wait on me if I was sick or ailed any thing, and would gladly have had my company. I acknowledged both their generosity and civility to me, and so I took leave of them, and of the noble Captain Salter, who I have had occasion both to mention and to love, who took his solid leave of me and wept like a child, and said openly in the hearing of many, That he never loved a man so well before, and though he did not want business, yet for my sake he would serve my Friends what lay in his power, or near those words.

I find, as we live and walk in the Truth, there is an inward witness which God hath placed in the hearts of men that is reachable, except in such who are arrived to a great degree of hardness and insensibility, and so have little sense or perceivance of good, either in themselves or

in others,—which is a deplorable state, and much to be lamented. Oh what grief of heart and spirit it hath been to me, to hear and see the wickedness of some! If such wickedness was as great a trouble to them who acted it as it was to me, I have thought they would soon grow weary of it.

Now I left the island, and embarked on board a ship, John Griffith master, bound for Bristol, in Old England, and went to sea with some East-India ships that had put in at Barbadoes, having a ship of war or two for their convoy. After we were got to sea, they had so much drinking and carousing that we grew weary of staying with them, and after some consideration the captain, who was a Friend, left them and came safe to England.

In our passage we had some rough weather near the Tropic, which I mentioned before, and the men and captain being much disordered with watching and hard labour, as I remember, for eight-and-forty hours night and day, a calm ensuing, the captain desired me to take his place for his watch, and mind the helmsman, and see that he made straight steerage; but alas! he was so sleepy, it was next to impossible to keep him awake. I walked on the deck, and had overmuch work to mind the compass and the helmsman too; for a fine breeze of wind came on, and all of a sudden a very unusual fear fell on me, and I looked into the sea, and beheld it appeared to turn blue, and as far as I could discern to windward, I saw white caps or the water-freckle: on seeing which, through fear, more than any great skill, I stamped with my foot as though I would have broke the deck. Out came the captain, but what with fear and sleep he could scarce hit the door out of the cabin. When he was got upon the deck, he stamped, and called out all his hands, and bid them lower

and furl the sails with speed, or else we were all dead men, for here is a hurricane just upon us. And no sooner was all made snug as well as could be (as the seamen phrase it), but the wind blew so, that we thought it would have turned the bottom of the ship upward,—the like I never saw; and, as the captain said, we had not one minute to spare of being cast away, according to all human probability; and as the seamen term it, it was such hurry-durry thick weather, that we could scarce see any thing a hundred yards, which violent weather held for about an hour, in which time we drove by a vessel, and were so near her, that I thought I could have flung a stone aboard. Our ship's crew were sore afraid, and looked upon her to be a robber. Her rudder was lashed or tied up, and the men were all gone off the deck; but our mariners were so affrighted, that they thought they would set some sail and follow us; for no sooner were we past this ship but the weather grew better, and away we ran in hazard of bringing the masts by the board; but through the Divine Providence of Him that is Lord over all, both sea and land, we escaped and came safe into Cork, in Ireland, where the master lived, and rode there for some time, and then weighed for Bristol, intending for the Yearly Meeting there.

We had rough weather in crossing the channel before we came into the Severn, where our sailors, being afraid of being pressed, launched the boat, and ran away into Cornwall, leaving but four on board to bring the ship up the river. We saw a pinnace, having in it a lieutenant with a crew of pressed men, to press more if they could find them, and our master called on me, and desired I would put on my best clothes and come to him, and so I did, and he set me on his right hand. By this time up comes the lieutenant and asked for my men, taking me for the master.

I told him, they had launched the long-boat and were gone, and we could not hinder them, they being the strongest party; at which he appeared very much enraged, and seemed as though he would have struck at me. I told him calmly, he had more need pity than be angry with us, for if there should be a gale of wind, we were in great danger of all perishing for want of hands, for I showed him what force we had, viz., James Bates, whom I did not then call my companion, nor John Griffith captain, the cabin boy and myself were all the men on board. But he asked, what for a man that was who sat beside me? I told him, he was a man sufficiently secured against the press. Then the rough man fell, and said, I looked like an honest man, and he would take my word and not search for men. I ordered a bottle of the best liquor on board to be brought, and then the lieutenant and I parted very friendly.

I write not this as a thing I approved, but disliked; but being taken at unawares, had not time to shun it, as before mentioned, unless I had exposed my friend the master of the ship; although I neither said nor did, that I know of, any thing worse than what thou seest here written. I told the captain I thought he was a great coward, and had exposed me to danger to save himself.

Wind and weather favouring us, we came in due time to Bristol Yearly Meeting, where I met with William Edmundson, and was truly glad to see him with many more at that place; but my companion falling sick, I was made willing to leave him, and travelled to London with John Watson, of Ireland, and a sweet-spirited man he was. We got to London Yearly Meeting, where I discharged myself of what I had upon my mind, and came away in peace and in the feeling of the love of God.

John Haydock and I came from London together, and

had meetings in our way to York Yearly Meeting, where I was glad to see my home Friends, and to enjoy the love of God once more with them,—for this is our principal crown and kingdom in this world, to enjoy the favourable countenance of the Lord, and one another in His living and internal presence; and when I looked back upon all the mercies and deliverances I had received from the mighty God of heaven and earth, seas and rivers of water, whose hand made all, and whose eye and watchful Providence attends all and is over all, my soul was filled with thanks and praises to the great and most excellent name of Him who lives for ever, and hath helped my soul to overcome many strong temptations, and hath borne up my head under many deep afflictions and tribulations, renowned for ever be His holy name.

I came home the 18th of the Fourth month, 1703, and found my children well; and now I was under a thoughtfulness how to walk and demean myself, so as that I might be preserved near the Lord, and in due reverence and true fear before Him; that inasmuch as I found there was something of holiness unto the Lord imprinted or engraven upon the fleshly table of my heart, that now in this time, when I was not so particularly and immediately concerned in the like daily travel on Truth's account, I might not lose the savour, relish, and sensation of heavenly things. Some will read me here in this short survey I have been taking of my present state and thoughtfulness, that if I could not make it better, I might not make it worse, either in doing or not doing any thing that might prove a hurt to me; for a vessel had better be laid by, if it can be spared, than used to its hurt. Now in this careful and watchful frame of mind, I have found preservation from time to time to this day, by retaining the salt of the king-

dom in the soul of the inward man, which is of a preserving quality, with which the vessel is, and can only be kept fit for the Master's use. If we lose this, the creature soon grows out of order and unfit for the Master's use. Read and consider these things in time, while thou hast the prize in thy hand and time to do, and receive good at the hand of Him who is truly full of good, and is all good: to Him be the offerings of praise and renown, now and for ever.

Whilst I remained at home, as my usual manner was, I attended First-day and Week-day and Monthly Meetings, as also Quarterly and other meetings for the service of Truth, and visited many meetings up and down in the country, and had good service and much satisfaction in being given up to the service of Truth; but did not see it convenient, as my children were well placed, to settle to keep a family, until my way appeared clear to marry, which did now draw on; and after I had been near seven years a widower I married Anne Robinson, who descended of a substantial family at Hutton in the Hole, in the Parish of Lestingham, not far from Kirby-moorside in Yorkshire.

CHAPTER VII.

Anne Richardson Appears in the Ministry—Growth Therein—Her Testimony against Superfluity of Dress and Corrupt Language—John Bowstead's Testimony Concerning Her Zeal for the Truth—Her Death—His Travels in the Ministry.

We had not been married much above two years, before my wife began to appear in the public work of the ministry, and indeed very comfortably and acceptably to Friends, and she grew in understanding both of the Discipline of the Church of Christ and also in further knowledge in the work of the living ministry, etc. And about that time it came upon me to visit Friends in most parts of the northern counties in England; and some small time after my return, I had a concern to visit Friends in several parts of the southern counties; Thomas Beedal being my companion, who grew in the Truth and also in the ministry. We had many good meetings in that journey, good service and great satisfaction, and I returned home in peace.

Now I may say with sorrow of heart, the time drew on apace when my virtuous wife and I must part, and be no longer meet-helps to one another, which we truly were, and never had either evil word or evil thought against each other, I am fully satisfied; but lived in peace and true love one with another, and were glad when we could either one or both serve Truth and Friends; therefore I find it on my mind, in this place, to insert the following relation concerning her, viz.:—

A short Account of the Life, Convincement, Qualifications, and Dying Sayings of that Faithful Handmaid of the Lord, Anne Richardson, who departed this Life the 18th of Twelfth month, 1711, Aged about Thirty-three Years.

She was descended of an honest and considerable family of the Robinsons, at Hutton in the Hole, in Yorkshire, and was convinced in her young years, and received the Truth in the love of it, and it became valuable and precious to her above all things in this world; and through the blessed work and operation of the Grace and Holy Spirit of Truth, she was weaned from the world's pleasures, vanities, and recreations, from taking any delight in them; and through the virtuous and most precious blood of Christ, she came to witness her heart sprinkled from an evil conscience, and in a good degree made able to serve the living God, and bore a faithful testimony against the needless and superfluous dresses and fashions of the world, as also against the corrupt language thereof; and came to be a great lover of virtue and purity, and had great satisfaction in being in good Friends' company, and at Friends' meetings, and in much retirement and waiting upon the Lord, who in great mercy and condescension to the desire of His handmaid, gave her a large share, not only of the enjoyment of His living power and internal presence, but also a knowledge and clear sight into those things that appertained to life and salvation. And after Truth thus prevailed over her, it brought every thought into the obedience of Christ, and subjected her will to the will of God, which is a great work, yet requisite to the new birth, without which there is no regeneration; and without

regeneration and being born again, there is no entering into the kingdom of heaven.

After this great change was wrought in her, it was evident through the remaining part of her time that she was much preserved under the power, influence, and guidance of the peaceable, meek, and quiet spirit of Jesus Christ, and grew daily more and more in the favour and love of God, and was much beloved of God's people, and indeed of her relations, neighbours and acquaintance, who were not of her persuasion; and she walked so wisely and prudently in all her ways, that she sought not her own honour and interest, but the honour of the Lord and inward peace with Him, which she had a regard unto in all her undertakings; so that even such who sought for an occasion against Truth and the professors of it had nothing to say against her, not even from her childhood to the day of her death, for she was generally beloved and spoken well of by all who knew her, and many were deeply and sorrowfully affected to part with her, both Friends and others; the like hath not often been seen in those parts, and not without some cause, for she was a woman of an upright life, and exemplary conversation before all, and gave no offence to Jew or Gentile, nor to the Church of Christ; charitable to the poor, a true sympathizer with such as were in affliction and distress, whether in body or in mind, which was manifested in her frequent visits to such, and by other means clearly demonstrated. She was a woman endued with great patience, and with a quiet and serene mind, well qualified and fitted to her husband's circumstances, whose lot it was often to be abroad in the service of the Truth; an honourable and a faithful wife, willing to give up her all for Christ and the Gospel's sake, counting nothing in this world too near or dear to part with for the glory of God

and the advancement of the ever blessed Truth, peace, and salvation of her own soul, and the good of others.

One thing is remarkable and worthy of commemoration, which I insert as followeth, that others in the like case may not barely and outwardly imitate her, but feelingly come up in her heavenly practice and experience, under the influence, light, and help of God's Holy and Blessed Spirit, viz.: When that worthy servant of Jesus Christ, John Bowstead, returned from London Yearly Meeting through several counties to York, and so home with me, not long before my wife was taken away; and having some discourse with her, he asked about several things of moment, especially about her husband being so much from home, she gave him this answer: That inasmuch as she gave up her husband cheerfully and freely to serve the Lord, and to be serviceable to the Church of Christ, she did not only sympathize and feel with him in his most adverse and low state, but partook with him in his best enjoyments, when the power of Truth prevailed over all its enemies. Although I am then far from him, yet I partake of the spoil, or the shedding abroad of the good things of God among His people, as my heart goes along with the work of the Lord, and such as are engaged in it; and in all my husband's afflictions I am afflicted with him. And one of my main concerns is, that neither I, nor any thing in this world, may detain my husband from doing what the Lord calls for at his hand; for if any thing hurt him as to the Truth, what good can I expect of him? This John much admired, with the deep and weighty reasons she gave about the Christian Discipline of the Church, and concerning the ministry, the like, he said, he had not met with in all his travels before; yet she was a woman of few words, and expressed much in a

little compass. And when she was taken away, oh! the loss and sorrow he expressed to me in a letter concerning her death.

She was very clear in her understanding, had a penetrating and discerning eye, a great and inward sense of the state of a meeting, as also of their several particular states. I cannot at present describe to the full all the hidden virtues of this handmaid of the Lord, but there were many visible fruits of her virtuous mind that did appear to the children of men, some of which were these, viz.: She was an affectionate and tender mother to her children, yet did correct them when occasion required, without passion or the least appearance of disorder of mind, and still had them in great subjection; at which I often admired, and thought, surely she is come, by the workings of the Holy Spirit, to a greater dominion over her own spirit than many who appeared to be her equals. She was a true Christian, a loving and dutiful child to her parents, a good neighbour, a faithful wife, a loving and tender-hearted dame over her servants, and overcame them with love, and was much beloved by them, and also feared: they loved her, and were very unwilling to disoblige or offend her.

She appeared and behaved herself as became a sanctified vessel that was in a good degree fitted and prepared for the great Master's use; and often appeared as one that had been secretly in some intercourse with Jesus Christ in spirit, where his glory had more particularly shone in and over her soul, not only because of the gravity and solidity of her countenance, but also the tenderness, humility, and sweetness of her mind and spirit, weightiness of her conversation, edification of her advice, soundness of her judgment, and clearness of her understanding, all which made her company very acceptable while among the living.

Her heart was often filled with the love of God, and early raised and enabled to speak a word in season unto many states and conditions, whether at home or abroad, in her own family, amongst her neighbours, or in the Church of Christ, in testimony to matters relating to the worship of God, or in matters relating to Discipline, especially in the meetings of her own sex, where she had a great service, and will be greatly wanted. She had great care upon her for the good education of our youth in plainness of habit and language, that they might be preserved out of the corruptions of the world in all the parts thereof; in all which services she will be much missed: yet we being sensible that her removal is her great gain, it helps to alleviate our sorrow and loss, which is great, and will not soon be forgotten by many who had the benefit and comfort of her good services. Also her watchful and solid sitting in our meetings for worship was remarkable, with very little motion that was perceivable; yet when the least stirrings of life in her mind were perceived, in order to bring her forth in testimony, the meeting was truly glad, and the living amongst us rejoiced at it, for her appearance was with the wise, and in the language of the Holy Spirit, which was a clear demonstration that the work was the Lord's and by and through His spirit and power; all which gave her a great place in the minds of faithful Friends and brethren. But she is gone in the prime and flower of her age! which sets before and is a memento unto us, to show us the uncertainty of our time here, and to prepare for one certain to come, that death may not overtake us at unawares before we are prepared for it.

I come now to the time of her long weakness, in which she was preserved in great patience, steadiness, and resignation of mind to the will of God, even unto the end; and

she enjoyed much heavenly comfort and consolation in the living presence of the Lord to her immortal soul, so that when she was asked, Whether she thought she might recover or not? She mildly replied, she was afraid to desire to live; because, said she, I believe if it please the Lord to take me away now, it will be well with me, for I find nothing that lies as a burden upon my spirit. At another time she said, As to that little testimony I have been concerned in, this is my comfort and satisfaction, that I can truly say I did not kindle any strange fire, and therefore could not warm myself at the sparks thereof; but what I did in that matter was in the constraining of the love of God, and when my cup was full, I a little emptied myself among the Lord's people, yet very sensible of my own weakness and poverty, and often thought myself unworthy of the least of the Lord's mercies.

Many savoury expressions she spoke that were not written then, and therefore could not be remembered: we having some hopes of her recovery, it rather caused an omission as to such a due observance of what she said as otherwise it is like would have been; although she was heard to say not long before she fell weak, she thought her time would not be long in this world. I never heard an unbecoming or unsavoury word come from her, let the provocation thereto be what it would, no, not in the time of her health; and in her weakness, she was much swallowed up in the luminous and internal presence of her Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and often sang praises unto his worthy name, and appeared as one wholly redeemed from this world, whose heart was set upon, and mind intent, and earnestly engaged in the pursuit after heaven and heavenly things. Blessed be the Lord, she had witnessed a part in the first resurrection, and over

such the second death hath no power; and no doubt but she lived and believed in Jesus Christ, even unto the end of her time here, and passed away without any appearance of struggling or sorrow, I believe, into a mansion of glory, where her soul shall sing Hallelujah to the Lord God and the Lamb for ever, with all those who have overcome the world, the beast, and false prophet, and every thing the Lord's controversy is with, and who have not loved their lives unto death, but given up that life they had in any wrong thing whatsoever.

When I had drawn up the foregoing account, and showed it to some discreet Friends, they said it was not beyond her worth; yet when I looked it over again, with an intent to insert it here, I thought it looked too large; but upon more mature deliberation, I could not find what part to omit, but it would hurt the whole matter, therefore as I found it contained encouragement to all tender and well-minded people to persevere in faithfulness unto the end; caution against pride, passion, and indulging or sparing any wrong thing in church or family; and something of advice to several conditions and growths in the Church of Christ; it appeared most easy to me, not to lose any of those good fragments which had any thing of a heavenly savour in them, and if I have not missed it, there is something that has a living relish, for without that I should soon be weary of either writing or speaking.

Not long after the departure of my wife, it came upon me to visit the southern parts of England and some parts of Wales, and I had good service and great satisfaction; and I was also at London, John Adam being my companion, who was an innocent, clean-spirited man.

Again, I found it required of me to visit the south-west parts of England in the year 1717, and I travelled

through the west part of Yorkshire into Westmoreland, Lancastershire, Cheshire, and so on to Bristol, and as far as Cornwall, and had many good meetings; although I travelled alone, yet the Lord, in whom I put my trust and depended upon, helped me, and bore up my head through and over all, renowned be His most honourable name, now and for ever.

CHAPTER VIII.

Second Visit to Friends in Ireland—Reflections on the State of the Society—Departure from Simplicity in Dress—Sickness—Thomas Wilson—Controversy with a Doctor and Priest—Discussion with a Papist—Views on the Payment of Tithes.

In the year 1722, it was renewed upon me to go into Ireland; the thoughts of it had been long upon my mind, but now the time seemed to be fully come to pay that long thought of visit; and Joseph Bunting, of Cumberland, being my companion, we went from Kendal Yearly Meeting, which was a large and good meeting, and passed along to Whitehaven, and took shipping for Dublin, and staid their Half-Year's Meeting, which was large, and in which the living power and presence of the Lord was felt amongst us. Exalted over all be the mighty name of the Lord, for those and all His mercies.

I had there many good meetings, and also met with some hard ones, as is the lot of such who are called to this vocation; and the best way I have found, when I met with such, is first to regard our call, then to mind our daily steps we take in that vocation into which we are called, and take special care to have along with us the company and counsel of Him that hath so called us. This is the way fully and truly to discharge ourselves of that trust the Lord hath reposed in us, to the mutual comfort and edification of the churches of Christ, and also to the peace and consolation of our own souls.

It is now with me to write the following remarks of

Ireland, which will not be remote to the state of Friends in many other places, where there is a right, sound, living ministry preserved, and good Discipline exercised, which mostly go together. There Truth and Friends are kept generally in good esteem, and also thriving; but where these fail, especially the Discipline, oh! how undue liberty and the fashions of the world, with many corrupting things, creep in amongst the professors of Truth, even unto the reproach thereof, and scandal of those who are so prevailed upon; and hearty sorrow of such as know and feel the hurt of these things. Oh! what a hinderance this is to the progress of the ever blessed Truth in the earth; and indeed it hath been in my mind, that the main work in this our day is to search into the churches, and endeavour to bring them into such a condition, that it may once more be said, Follow Christ, as you have us for example; not only here and there one, but the believers in general. So it will be, when we as a people all speak the same thing, or that which is agreeable, as well in our practice (so often recommended) as in faith and doctrine; for I have ever understood example to be more prevalent than precept: but if any amongst Friends be grown so hardy and so insensible, as to prefer some foolish fashions, which to me appear to be shameful and indecent, it is an evident demonstration they are departed too much from the principles and practices of our worthy elders in the Truth; which I fear is the case of too many, both in that nation and in England.

Let not any say, that I smite in the dark, and do not tell what I mean; for some few particulars I intend to mention for the ease of my mind. I have seen several changes of fashions in forty years time. Our first Friends and promoters of Truth came out in the Lord's work and

heavenly power, plain, and generally continued so for their time; but alas! how soon there appeared an alteration, in some men especially, when the weight of sufferings was over. It then began to appear, and hath from time to time continued to increase ever since, among some professing Truth with us, not only in extravagant wigs, with much powder on them, but also in cross-pockets, needless capes, and divers cuts and shapes in their clothing, in conformity to the prevailing fashions of the times, as well as in setting up their hats: all which appear to be more likely to lead those who follow them into Egypt, or the world again, than into the heavenly country or Canaan, which we profess to be pressing after, and hope to obtain in the end.

Now, not to let the females pass without my observation on them: I well remember in my younger years, especially in great towns and cities, I have met with those that professed Truth with us, who have had but very little coverings on their heads, and others that have had more set up at a considerable distance above their foreheads, and both these sorts perhaps bare-necked. When I have met with such, I have said, what a fair or beautiful daughter of Zion wouldest thou be, if thou wouldest put on Truth and Christ's righteousness, and put away all those foolish fashions? And in families, when I have asked some particulars, what they could say for these dresses, and being so naked, both neck and shoulders, I received this answer, or something like it, That it was good for their health to keep their temples cool, and to learn to be hardy, by exposing themselves thus to the air in their youth. But if that was the true reason, I added this caution to them: to consider duly, if religion did not, yet the modesty of their sex should, reclaim them from it. Sometimes, with

the dislike I showed to these things, I advised them, that they would cover their naked skin, and no more expose themselves to the lust and vain speculation of the worst and great trouble of their best friends; and worst of all, to the great hurt of themselves, and in a manner destroying all reasonable claim to Christ. For how can our love to and faith in him be true and sound, when our practice is so remote from the practice and example of Christ and his apostles, which they gave and endeavoured to inculcate? Be not conformed to this world, but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is that good and acceptable, and perfect will of God, Rom. xii. 2. Whose adorning let it not be that outward adorning of plaiting the hair, and of wearing gold, or of putting on of apparel. But let it be the hidden man of the heart, in that which is not corruptible, even the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, which is in the sight of God of great price: for after this manner in the old time, the holy women also who trusted in God adorned themselves, being in subjection unto their own husbands. 1 Pet. iii. 3–5. Alas! woe is me, for the hurt of the daughter of Zion, when I consider with regret from whence such are fallen, if ever restored out of the fall.

If we as a people should follow such examples as I have touched upon, certainly we shall become an hissing and a bye-word to all nations round about, who may have heard of us, and what great things the Lord of hosts hath done for us since we became a people, as may and has been seen and heard in examples, words, and writings from our faithful Friends and brethren (the chief promulgators of Truth and righteousness) in their unwearied labours, faith, and sufferings for the cause and testimony of Jesus Christ; and what also was not less remarkable, by their exemplary

lives of plainness, humility, sincerity, and self-denial, with works of charity.

Now, thou that readest this, beware that thou dost not let in any wrong mind, and in that begin to judge me instead of judging thyself; for as far as I know, I have but done my duty: see first, that thou dost thine before thou begins to judge me. Bear this caution from thy friend, thou that God hath endued with His Spirit, and wait till this Holy Spirit of Truth is upon thee a Spirit of Judgment. As thou abidest under these qualifications, thou art fit to sit in judgment, and judge wrong things in thyself first, next in thy family, and then in the Church of Christ; and be unwearied in thy labours to preserve, as well as to restore, what thou art capable of doing in the Church of Christ, from all wrong ways and things: for if corruption and slackness come in, and prevail over the leader, as well as over those whom God hath raised thee up to be a help unto, then will the Lord deal with both thee and them some other way; for I am satisfied the Lord will turn His hand upon His people in these days, as he did upon Israel formerly, saying, by His prophet, He would purge away her dross, and take away all her tin,—not only all gross evils, but also that which in appearance may be like Truth, but is not Truth. This was and will be the way to restore judges as at the first, and counsellors as at the beginning. Oh! then shall the Gentiles see Thy righteousness, and all kings Thy glory, said the prophet.

Although there is great occasion for an amendment in many, yet there is a bright and heavenly-minded remnant in England, Ireland, and many other parts of the world, against whom I find not any thing to press upon my mind to complain of; but a word of encouragement springs in the life, in the love and good will of God, to press and

persuade you to a steady perseverance in the true faith, and in an exemplary and pious life; I never saw more need of this than now, according to my view of the state of things; that when the Lord the righteous Judge, who will bring every work into judgment, with every secret thing, these, as before mentioned, may be found clear of the blood of all men, seeing that they have warned them, and given notice when they have seen any danger, or an enemy approach nigh to them.

Here is work for such as God hath set up as watchmen over His people, to see that those do not go on in bye-ways who profess Truth, and leave the way of Truth unoccupied by them; here is work for the true judges, who have the Spirit of Judgment upon them: and notwithstanding some here and there, who may be found in the faithful discharge of that trust the Lord hath reposed in them, may meet with some opposition from such as are unfaithful, and not willing to be bounded and girded by the Truth, no not so much as to an outward conformity to the plainness and decency, so much and frequently recommended by the writings, by public testimonies, and also in our meetings for Discipline; for it is a considerable branch of our meetings for Discipline, to inspect into and take care to see that Friends walk orderly as becomes our holy profession; and where wrong steps are made, and wrong ways are gone into, and liberty taken by any who do profess Truth with us, that such may be dealt with, and the evil, as also the bad consequences thereof, laid before them, and they be laboured with, and not left For although it may be but a small appearance or beginning of a leprosy, which is naturally apt to spread, unless proper applications, and in due time too, be made in the wisdom and love of God; yet if any there be who prefer their own

wills, and so far love that life they have in those things, that are not only evil in themselves, but also of evil consequence by their bad example, more than they love Truth and the unity of the brethren, such had better for Truth's sake, and for the reputation of the testimony thereof, be dealt with for the ease of the minds of the faithful, who suffer under the sense they frequently labour of a cloud of darkness and oppression, wrong ways and wrong things.

It may not be amiss to give a hint here, at what door many have gone out into divers evils: first, by being brought by custom to be in love with strong drink, and keeping loose company; for even such have been so far a means to corrupt, and in time to draw away the mind from that simplicity and purity the Lord's people ought to live in, until a cloud has come over the understanding, and the sense of the virtue and heavenly savour of the precious Truth is lost; and then the old inhabitants of the land (comparatively speaking) crowd in again, as pride, passion, lust, envy, loose conversation, open drunkenness; nay, some worse spirits than ever had possessed them before, have now entered their minds with the former, that were once measureably overcome and cast out. It is therefore certain, that the end of these will be miserable, except the Lord grants them a place of repentance while here.

Now my tender and well beloved friends, watch against and strive to keep out the enemy, that he enter not; for what way soever he enters and gets footing, he defiles God's temple; and before thou witnesseth the Lord to destroy him and cast him out again, thou must have many a sore combat, and some warfare, perhaps more than thou art aware of, before thou gainest all the ground thou hast lost by giving way to the adversary of thy soul; therefore keep upon thy watch-tower, watch unto the end: watch

and pray continually, that ye enter not into temptation, said our great Lord unto his followers. For I have found by experience, that it is harder to gain what we have lost, than to keep it while we had it; and to improve our talents is not only the way to have them continued, but also to have them more abundantly added unto us; but such as do not improve what is given unto them, even that which they have been intrusted with shall be taken from them. Oh! how desolate and miserable such will be in the day of account, when Christ, like a great shepherd, divides the sheep from the goats, and between the slothful and the faithful servants, between the wise and the foolish virgins, and between all those who adhered to, obeyed, and followed him according to the measure of light and knowledge received, and those who have rejected and disobeyed the strivings and convictions of God's Holy Light and Blessed Spirit, placed in the hearts of the children of men to enlighten, instruct, reprove, comfort, and guide, according to the state of every individual mind, as it is comformable or disobedient to inward conviction. So is this holy gift a witness for or against, to accuse or excuse in thy conscience, according as thy good or evil doings are and do prevail in thy heart and soul. But this is somewhat a digression from the historical part of my travels; for, as I have mentioned before my going into Ireland, I shall now say something more particularly thereof.

We journeyed from Dublin toward Cork, and had several meetings in our way, as at Ballicane, Culladine, Wexford, Lambstown, Waterford, Clonmel, Cashel, Youghall, Cork, and staid their Province Meeting for Munster, which was a good and large meeting. I was much out of order here, by reason of a fever and ague which held me several days, and I was much obliged to my friends, John Dobbs,

Joseph Hoare and his family, for the great care they took of me in this my weak state. I was not without some reasonings for a time, as to my being out of my native country; but the Lord who is mighty in power helped me and raised me again, and gave me ability to discharge myself of that service I was called to, honoured for ever be the great name of the Lord for this and all His mercies.

Next we came to Charleville, Limerick, Ross, and from thence to John Ashton's, Birr, James Hutchinson's, Montrath, Mountmeleck, Henry Ridgway's, and from Ballinakil to Montrath again, and were at their Six-weeks' Meeting, which was a heavenly and good meeting, there being a living remnant there. Then we came to Kilconner, Carlow, Ballitore, John Stephenson's, Timahoe, Edenderry, and went to see my good friend Thomas Wilson, who was sore troubled with the gravel. I was much afflicted and truly sympathized with him in my spirit, and John Bancroft, that true man, and I did what we could for our afflicted brother, and so left him and his family in the love of God; and went to Lismoiny, the Moat, Waterstown, Balimurry, Athlone, and had another meeting at the Moat; Oldcastle, Ballihays, Coothill, Castleshean, Ballihagan, Charlemount, Dumclaudy, Colrain, James Moor's, the Grange, Antrim, Lisborn, Hillsborough, and were at their Province Meeting, which was held at Ballenderry, and were also at some meetings twice; Monallen, Turmery, Lurgan, Raffer Island, Newry, and from thence to Drogheda, and so to Dublin, being the 29th of the Fifth month, 1722, and stayed there some meetings; and a living remnant there is in that city, but it is a rich place. The mighty God of heaven and earth keep His people low and truly humble in that great city and every where else, is the earnest desire of my soul to the Lord; for I know there is

a considerable remnant, whose labour and daily travail is to have the Church kept clean from all manner of defilements both of flesh and spirit, so that she may be presented unto God the Father without spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing, in the day when she must appear before the great Judge of all the earth, who will do right unto every one, according as their works are found to be good or evil.

Being clear of Dublin and the whole nation, I took shipping for Whitehaven, and had a short passage, but a very rough one, and had some meetings in my way home, to which I got on the 21st of the Sixth month, 1722, and found my children recovered from the fever and ague in which I left them when I took my journey, which distemper had so far prevailed over them, that they were sometimes scarcely sensible. It had been upon them for a considerable time, and it proved a trial to me to leave them in that very weak state; but one day as I sought the Lord in the fervency of my heart, to know whether I should leave these my two poor weak children or not, as also my house-keeper much in the same case (who were all my constant family), it sprang in my heart livingly, as though it had been spoken with a man's voice, Leave them, and I will take care of them. I said, Thou, the Lord, hath never failed me; I will leave them to Thee; do what seemeth good in Thy eye with them. I looked then no more behind me, neither at them nor any thing else I had left, but became as if I had not any thing in the world. For thus it behoveth all the servants of Christ to do, even the married as if they were not married; and those that buy any thing, as if they did not possess it. This is a liberty which many are strangers unto: it is wrought by the finger of God. It is the work of God's heavenly power to loosen man thus from the things of this world, and at the same

time we are most bound unto Christ, yet enjoy a comfortable and heavenly freedom in our spirits in Christ, by our faith and obedience unto him, in and through all trials, provings, and adversities. And, dear Friends, the greater the cross, the greater is the crown and reward which all those possess, who do all things they do with a single mind and an upright heart unto the Lord in all things, and at all times.

Thus the children of the Bridegroom are or ought to be espoused or married to Christ, and truly devoted to him, that so they may stand, as much as may be, disentangled from all mutable things, and cleave to and follow him when and wheresoever he calls and leads, and be in subjection to him, as a virtuous wife is not only bound, but willingly is subject, to her virtuous and preferable husband,—thus we may know and experience Christ to become our Holy Head, and that we may hold unto him, and that we may so walk and live, that he may take delight in his Church (the body), to rule in and over it, as we have the state of the true Church and Christ represented in the most excellent and sacred writings of the Holy Scriptures. Oh! that we may likewise know the marriage of the Lamb to be come, and that as of old, we may make ourselves ready, put off the sins and corruptions of the world that are through lust, and put on the Lord Jesus Christ, and his pure righteousness. This is the fine linen, the righteousness of the saints; this is the wedding garment; without which preparations, and true Bride's attire, I cannot see how any can expect an admittance into the Bridegoom's chamber. Therefore I entreat all such as do not find themselves in preparation, and have not their peace assured to them, and want the seal or evidence of the Spirit of the Lord that they are His, not to slumber

away their precious time until the midnight, least unexpectedly the cry be heard to sound with terror in thy ears, Arise, trim thy lamp, for behold the Bridegroom cometh, who hath in times past exercised mercy and loving-kindness toward thee, and has sought divers ways to win thee to love him; he has at times reproved thee for thy evil ways, and at other times hath set before thee the comforts and happiness thou shouldest possess, if thou wouldest obey and follow him; nay, he hath wooed thee as a young man doth a virgin, and if thou hadst devoted thyself to him, he would have gathered and saved thee, and rejoiced over thee as a bridegoom doth over his bride. But if thou turnest thy back upon all his reproofs, entreaties, and endearments, as in the parable of the five foolish virgins, in the time when he (the Bridegroom) calls to an account, he will not know thee otherwise than to shut thee out of his presence and favour, notwithstanding whatever thou mayest have heard, received, or done, if thou continues to work wickedness, and art not reclaimed therefrom.

These things sprang in my mind as a warning for all, to flee from every destructive thing, before the Lord overtakes them, when they cannot escape His hand of justice; and also, that the faithful may be encouraged in well-doing, and to a faithful perseverance to the end. Amen.

Some things which have been omitted, I think proper to insert here, as worthy of observation. As I was travelling toward Lincoln, and passing through Brig, Friends gave me notice that there were two great disputants, a Nonconformist minister, and a doctor of physic, who were like to go all or most of the way with me, as the assizes were coming on, and would be at me with arguments about religion, which I soon found true; for we were no sooner got into a suitable way, but they began with me, which I

endeavoured to prevent, by telling them, I did not look upon myself to be qualified for disputes; and withal I observed, that sometimes disputants ended in a worse understanding one of another than when they began, except they minded well to keep good government; and now as we appeared free and friendly, how we might be when we had ended our dispute was a question, therefore I had rather they would forbear: but they turned the deaf ear to all that I said, and nothing would do with them, but a dispute we must have. I then asked them what they would say? They queried, Whether all men were placed in a station capable of salvation, yea or nay? I replied, if I should give my positive thoughts to your question, we shall have occasion to go back to treat of the nature, not only of the upright state, man was in before he fell, but also how he fell, and also in the fall, how he stands as in relation to his restoration, which brings us to the question. Although this be not the usual way of disputants, yet if you will submit to it, it will either answer your question, or set it in a clearer light for an answer. They asked, How could that be? I replied, if it did not, they might say so. They then so far condescended as to hear me, and I said, first, we all agree in this, that man was made upright; second, that he fell from that uprightness: the question then is, How? Answer. By the offence or disobedience of the first man Adam, sin entered, and condemnation came upon all who had sinned. I then queried of the disputants, whether they believed that Adam's fall did affect all those who did not hear of it, as well as those who did? For, I said, there were some of opinion, that those who had not the explicit or outward knowledge of the promised Seed or coming of Christ, had not the benefit of his coming; and except they would first allow that all were

affected or hurt by Adam's fall, then such as were not remained in Paradise to this day, except they would make the remedy less than the disease, the plaster less than the sore, and Christ's coming less extensive than Adam's fall. I argued, that upon the foot of reason, as well as what we had in plain Scripture, Christ's coming was as extensive as the fall of Adam; for, by the obedience of Christ, the gift of God came upon all unto justification.

Now I think, said I, your question is set in a clear light for an answer, or else answered; so take it at what end you will (laying aside all quibbling), I intend to join issue with you, and prove that all men are placed in a station capable of salvation; or otherwise you must leave a great part of the world in Paradise, or make the coming of Christ less extensive than the fall of Adam. I then queried, what they said to all this? They answered, they never heard the like before, and they would not meddle with me, I was too great a scholar for them. I said, there was little of scholarship in it: I offered, I thought, nothing but plain Scripture and sound reason; and I told them, I had now as good as answered their question, and had given several reasons to back my answer, and as they appeared wise, well-read men, and, as far as I had gathered, had been principled against universal salvation and universal grace, for them now to drop the matter so slenderly, before me who appeared but like a child to them, was very surprising. But they replied, they would not meddle with me.

I then commended them for their good temper, and the civility they showed to me, for they were civil to me beyond what I could expect; and they invited me to the burial of one of their deceased friends, but I could not go, for I was in haste to get to Lincoln, having some business there that hastened me. Now at parting with them,

my soul magnified the Lord under a sense of His goodness to me, in that He had opened my way, and helped me through this difficulty, with many other trials and afflictions I had met with.

I had at another time some reasonings with a Papist who was my neighbour, about the visibility of their church and transubstantiation, with several other things. As to the first, I showed him, that the true Church fled into the wilderness, where she was for times, time, and half a time; in this state we do not read she had any outward character as a visible church; and that if they derived their descent, it was from some false church, and not through the true one. And as to the other, they took too much upon them, more than they could justify from Scripture, or clearly demonstrate from Christ or his apostles; for Christ never gave any of them such a commission, as to convert bread and wine into real flesh and blood, and then to call it Christ. You, said I, by these notions, deceive yourselves and your adherents; for Christ spoke unto such as you by parables, because they were carnal, and did not understand the meaning of his sayings in this case, no more than the Jews understood what Christ meant, when he spoke of destroying this temple (meaning his body), which they understood was of that temple at Jerusalem, which they made a great wonder at, and said, How can this be that he can destroy this temple, and raise it up again in three days, when it was forty-eight years in building? Thus they reasoned carnally, as Nicodemus (though a ruler of the Jews) did concerning regeneration or the new birth; and as the woman of Samaria did, from whence Christ should have that living water, which he spoke of, that should be in man as a well of water, springing up unto everlasting life; and as the Jews did, when Christ

said, Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you: they said, how can this be, that he can give us his flesh to eat, and his blood to drink? But this is a spiritual eating and drinking; even as Christ said, Out of the belly of him that believes, shall flow rivers of living water; which he spake of the Spirit. In like manner it is said in the Revelation, Behold, I stand at the door and knock, if any man hear my voice and open unto me, I will come in and sup with him, and he with me. Here is an union of spirits between Christ and his faithful children, and here is an inward eating and drinking of the heavenly, spiritual, and mystical flesh and blood of Christ, which carnal men cannot eat of, neither can the carnal eye discern Christ's spiritual body, which he feeds his living and spiritual Church withal. When I had reasoned with the man to this effect, he went away seemingly not pleased, but would not from that time ever meddle with me any more.

I need not say much here about Christ being come; having showed, in a conference in New England, how he is come to answer his eating and drinking the Passover and Last Supper with his disciples, saying, He would drink no more of the fruit of the vine, until he drank it new with them in his Father's kingdom. Now he that hath experienced what this eating and drinking is, is come beyond the outward eating and drinking into the kingdom which is within, which comes not with outward observations, eatings, drinkings, nor carnal ordinances, but the kingdom of heaven consists in righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.

Now read this, thou that canst, and learn to understand between the thing that points, and the thing which is pointed at, and between the thing signifying, and the

thing signified, and mistake not the shadow for the substance any longer; for it is possible a man may do all the outward parts, and yet be ignorant of the Cross of Christ and of the heavenly substance: but if he is come to the end of these outside things, to the Holy of Holies, such will know what it is to minister before the Lord in His temple, and to serve and wait at the Holy Altar, and live, and have that pure spiritual life preserved: for we read not of any tithes that appertain to this spiritual priesthood, or Gospel ministry; and what their outward maintenance was to be, is showed by Christ, beyond contradiction, who sent them forth. Where they were received (mark that well), they might eat such things as were set before them, but were not to take any thing from them by force, for that is out of the doctrine and practice of Christ and his apostles.

Why do people call the Scripture their rule of faith and manners, when at the same time they believe and act contrary thereto? for when I had some years before a debate with the priest of our parish, we meeting at Sponton, I being there upon some occasion, and several people met together, the priest demanded my reasons, why I did not pay him his tithe? I used some persuasive arguments to put him off, not being willing at that time to enter into any debate with him; but the more I showed my unwillingness to it, the more urgent he was upon me. So when I could not see how to avoid entering into some close debate with him, I desired he would not be angry, and he said he would not. I then showed in several particulars why I could not pay him any tithe, because I believed, if he was a minister of Jesus Christ, he ought not to claim any; for, as there was a change of the priesthood, there also must be of necessity a change of the law, as we see in Heb. vii. 12, and to pretend to draw any command or

example from Christ or his apostles, out of the New Testament, for that purpose, appears to me weak and inconsistent.

We had some further discourse upon the ground of his right and title to tithes,—whether *Jure divino*, as they used to be formerly claimed; or *Jure humano*, that is, by human laws, as most of the modern priests seem to choose to fix their title. I bid him fix his right for tithes on which claim he pleased, and I would endeavour to answer him as well as I could; but he seemed not to fix upon either. Whereupon I told him, that there was no Scriptural settlement of tithes upon Gospel ministers, and also offered to prove, that he was neither in the practice of the Levites, to whom tithes were directed to be paid, nor yet in the practice of those ministers whom Christ qualified, ordained, and sent forth: first, not in the practice of the Levites; because the tithes due to them, were for their service and punctual performance of their part of the ceremonial law, Numb. xviii. 21, which if any now claimed, it seemed to me that he subjected himself to the practice of burnt-offerings and sacrifices, circumcision, Jewish habits, washing, etc., (besides which, the law which appointed the tithe to the Levites, expressly forbids them to have any share or inheritance in the land, as appears from Numb. xviii. 20, 23, 24, and Deut. xviii. 1, 2,) which the modern claimers of tithe would be loth to be compelled to the practice of; not to insist on the law of the third year's tithe, of which the widow, the fatherless, and the stranger within their gates, were to receive a considerable part as their allotted portion. Deut. xiv. 28, 29. Second, not in the practice of those ministers Christ qualified and sent forth; for these went out by an especial command from him, without gold, silver, or brass in their

purses, without two coats; and so intent were they to be in the execution of their great duty of preaching the Gospel, that they were to salute no man by the way, but to go forward on the great errand they had received in commission. And when they returned to their Lord, he asked them, If they lacked any thing? And they said, nothing; yet not because they had forced a maintenance from any, but that the effect of their ministry among their hearers had been so prevalent, that those who had been convinced by their doctrine, and turned to the effectual power of Christ in themselves, had from thence known their hearts so opened, as to administer to all their immediate necessities; and these, thus sent, had only eat such things as were set before them, as they were appointed; and where they had sown spirituals, had only reaped of the temporals of their converts for their immediate subsistence. But though thou sowest not to me of thy spirituals, nor do I believe thee to be one who hath any thing spiritual, which can be of any benefit to my spiritual part; and though thou esteemest me as an heathen man and a publican, and I am excommunicated and cut off from any church-fellowship with thee, (not for any evil, but as far as I can understand, for not coming to what thou callest the Church,) yet thou expectest to reap of my temporals, because the law of the land has given thee that power; which disposition to reap where thou hast not sown, and to gather where thou hast not strown, is far from manifesting a Christian spirit.

The priest further urged some passages out of the New Testament, in vindication of the payment of tithes, alluding to that of the apostle, 1 Cor. ix. 7, about sowing of spiritual things unto us; that it was but a small thing if such received of our carnal things; and that of feeding a flock, and partaking of the milk of the flock; and of

planting a vineyard, and eating of the fruit thereof: all which I endeavoured to obviate, by showing, that he did not sow his spirituals to us, so as that he might be intituled to our carnal things; neither were we of that flock which he should partake of the milk of; neither were a vineyard which he had planted, that he might eat of the fruit thereof. Furthermore I said, as I am a stranger and an excommunicated person, and not of thy children, the apostles, if they wanted or were in any straits for necessaries, did not apply to strangers for help, but to such of their children as they had been instrumental in the hand of God to plant the true faith and sow the seed of the kingdom in. Now these who are thus convinced, and by the work of God's power converted, these were such who knew spiritual things sown in them, who I believed were very free to distribute (where true need was) of their temporal things, especially to such who had been instrumental in the Lord's hand to their coming to the saving knowledge of Jesus Christ. But I showed the priest, that all this carried no analogy to what was between him and me; for I, being excommunicated, was but to him as an heathen man and a publican, and as we never came to hear him, we could not owe him any acknowledgment, nor could he expect any thing as a free-will offering on that account.

This Priest Wykes (for that was his name) was a strong spirited man, of considerable parts and learning; and a neighbouring Justice of the Peace told me, he was fearful would be very severe with me; yet to his commendation be it spoken, he was ever after this conference very loving, and never gave me any trouble for that he called his dues.

I may add one observation or two not mentioned in our debate, which were, that if the maintenance of the priests

was to be wholly withdrawn, or left to the freedom and generosity of the people, many of them would want and come to poverty, and be forced to labour with their hands, which would distract or at least impede their studies. I answered, that with such ministers as they were, this might be the case. But if all would come truly and rightly to wait on the great teacher, the anointing in themselves, it would greatly tend to the advantage of Christendom; for the Almighty, who by His good Spirit is alone able to raise up and qualify Gospel-ministers, as He knows the wants of His people, and their faith and trust in Him, would no doubt raise up from among them faithful ministers; such, who being humble, meek and low in heart, like him of whom they had learned, would be content to live in moderation on a little, and to labour in their respective callings, like the Apostle Paul, that great minister of the Gentiles, working with their hands that their ministry might not be chargeable, such as fishermen, collectors of customs, etc.; whose ministry being not their own, but received immediately from the great Shepherd of the sheep, would not require much time and study to pen down, but coming from the Spirit of Truth, immediately moving upon the minister's heart, would be more effectual to reach the witness of Truth in the hearts of their hearers than all the laboured discourses of the most subtile priest, though the produce of much pains and study. Neither have I found in all my travels, from any observation I have made, that ever the faithful ministers of Christ became any great burden or charge to the churches; for I have seen the Divine Providence attend the Lord's faithful servants, who thereby have been enabled to order their affairs with discretion, so as to want little.

CHAPTER IX.

Second Visit to Friends in America—Discussion with a Baptist—Debate with an Episcopalian—Answers the Objections of a Presbyterian Priest—Returns to England—Remarkable Deliverance—Isaac Skelton's Love.

I HAVING had drawings in my mind, for some considerable time, once more to visit Friends in several parts of America, and inasmuch as I believed it was my duty, and what the Lord required of me to give up to, I was resigned, after some reasonings about my age and declension as to ability of outward strength, concerning which I met with some inward conflicts and combatings which brought me very low for a time; but the Lord helped me through these difficulties, and caused His Truth to spring comfortably in my heart, and His heavenly presence I witnessed at times to refresh my soul in these exercises unknown to many; and the time being come for my preparing for the journey, on the 15th of the Third month, 1731, I set forward from Hutton in the Hole to Scarborough, where I took shipping with George Widget, for London, and came thither the first day of the Yearly Meeting, with which I was very well satisfied, and on the 25th day of the Fourth month, went on board of a vessel bound for Philadelphia, in America, John Wilcox master, who was very civil and kind to me.

On the 27th of the said month we set sail, and had a good passage in the main, excepting that we had one very great storm, in which we were in danger of being lost;

our bolt-sprit was broke, and the masts were in danger of coming down, yet we were preserved, and in about eleven weeks, being the 12th of the Seventh month, I landed near Philadelphia, to the great satisfaction of Friends as well as myself, renowned be the great name of the Lord for ever.

I have many times considered, that although it was my place to leave my very near and dear friends, children, and relations, who in a tender frame of spirit were much concerned for me, and I for them, yet I met with many tender-hearted Friends in my travels, who were very near me in the ever blessed Truth; which fails not those who trust in the Lord and are faithful, according to the ability and understanding which the Lord hath given to the children of men, and are devoted to answer the leadings and guidance of His Holy Spirit, and willing to bear the cross, burden, or yoke, which he sees good to lay upon His servants and handmaids. And I entreat all such who are called unto the Lord's great work, to give up cheerfully and not grudgingly, and not to look back at what is behind, so as to hasten or hinder themselves in that work they are called to, lest they fall short of that penny, or crown, which the faithful will receive in the end of all their labour.

The Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia was nigh when we landed, which was large, and a good meeting, many Friends from several parts being at it. Here I met with Henry Frankland, and we were truly glad to see each other, and went in company together southward toward Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, and returned to Pennsylvania; and in a short time after we parted, he came for Old England, and I travelled for New England through the Jerseys, Long Island, Rhode Island, and Nantucket,

having Richard Waln, of Pennsylvania, for my companion, an innocent, good man. We passed through all or most part of the aforesaid provinces and islands, and had very large meetings, and great attention there was in many to hear the testimony of Truth, and an open door both of utterance and, in many places, of entrance for what was delivered; yet not without opposition in some places.

I had some discourse with a Baptist, a Justice of the Peace, in one of the Jerseys (a man whom I truly loved), and he told me that some of his children went to our meetings, and he did not hinder them: he appeared a tender spirited man, and was of good repute in these parts where he lived, and very serviceable in his post. What we had most in debate, was touching water-baptism. I endeavoured to show him the use and end of all the shadowy things, all which were ended in Christ the substance, or antitype; and that such outward materials or elements appertained not unto his kingdom, or inward and spiritual administration; nor could they take away the root or cause of sin, which is only effected by the Holy Ghost and fire, or the Holy Ghost that worketh as doth fire, to the cleansing and purifying the hearts of the children of men, as is the nature of material fire to cleanse what it is properly applied unto.

I met with the same justice afterwards at Burlington, in New Jersey; he was glad to see me, and so was I to see him, for he was very loving and friendly. I likewise met with a man who was a school-master upon Long Island, that appeared somewhat offended at something I had said in a meeting where he had been; and he followed me to a Friend's house, and appeared so full of Scriptures in vindication (as he thought) of water-baptism, that what with his reading many passages in the Scriptures, and paraphra-

sing upon them, he would not hear me for some time; but when he was quiet I said to him, thou hast not treated me like a fair disputant, to run on so long, and not to give me time to make my objections; if thou hadst pitched upon any particular Scripture, and given me liberty to have answered, it would have been civil and reasonable. He owned, he had not done fairly by me; but I desired to know what church he pretended to belong to? He answered, To the Episcopal Church. I then requested he would answer me one question before we entered into any further debate, and he promised he would if he understood it. I told him, I heard he was a scholar, and no doubt but understood how to answer it, if he did but consider the matter: the query was this, Whether the sprinkling a little water in a child's face, would bear the name baptism, yea or nay? He said it would not. I answered, thou hast made a great pother and noise about little or nothing; for by thy own confession thy church has no baptism at all, for I know not of any other way they use but sprinkling. He would not enter into any further discourse about it, but made use of the words of Gamaliel in favour of the work the apostles were concerned in, saying, If this work be of God, it could not be overthrown, but if it was of man it would come to nought. I told him, I was of his mind; and the Lord has supported me in this and the like work now between forty and fifty years, and if I continued faithful, I had no doubt at all in my mind but He would support and stand by me to the end. And when we parted he said, The Lord of heaven and earth bless you, for I believe you are an honest man.

By this we may see, that Truth sometimes comes over men, and the witness which God hath placed in men is reached, and Truth prevails many times beyond our expec-

tation, or what is by us foreseen; therefore it is good to keep to the guidance or leading of the Spirit of Truth, for it is a blessed remembrancer, instructor, and true comforter to all such as truly depend upon Him, who sent the Spirit of Truth into the hearts of the children of men, to guide them into all the necessary Truths which we are to know and practice, and consequently out of all untruth.

When we had gone through this island, and visited Friends there and in Rhode Island, and had some meetings in our way, we went to Nantucket, where we met with many innocent plain Friends; also on Rhode Island, and in many places in these parts of the country we found great openness,—in Boston beyond expectation, and there was some convincement in that town. We travelled up to Dover, and visited Friends thereabout (which are the most remote parts where Friends inhabit in that quarter of New England), where I met with a Presbyterian priest. What his design chiefly was in coming to the Friend's house, I know not, but thought it was to see or rather speak with me, for he soon began to ask me some questions: first, Whether I was not brought up a scholar, and had been in some of the colleges where I had my education? and also, whether I had not put on the canonical gown, and preached according to the manner of the Church of England? I replied, I had not received my education in any college, neither ever put on the canonical gown, nor preached after the manner of the Church of England. He told me, I had been so represented to him; and said, he supposed I had been at some schools. I told him, I had been at several to learn when I was young; and said, I did not know that I had given occasion at any time, by what I had said, whereby any man might judge me to be a scholar. He understood I came from Old England, and began to

ask several questions, as, Whether our Friends increased or decreased? I answered, I could not positively tell: I thought there was no great alteration in my time as to number, for their decrease in one part of the nation, I thought, might be made up in their increase in another part. He also asked me, How the Episcopal ministers dealt with us about their tithes? My answer was thus: As to that part called the Prædial Tithes, they commonly either gather them themselves or family, or let them to tenants who take care to fetch them away before us, knowing that we cannot be free to leave them on the ground, as hay and corn, etc.; and as to small tithes, there is an Act of Parliament,* called *An Act for the more easy Recovery of Small Tithes, for any Sum not exceeding Forty Shillings, and Ten Shillings Cost*, which is by Justice's warrants. This is mostly thought to be intended to prevent their procedure by exchequer process, through which great havock and spoil has been made of Friends' goods, and sometimes their bodies cast into prison, where some have laid a long time. He asked, How our Friends did in Scotland, if they increased there? I told him, I heard that they did not increase; but some of the Presbyterians in Scotland were kind to our Friends, and would come to

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* The 7th and 8th of William III., c. 6, is the Act for Recovery of small Tithes or Offerings, etc., not amounting to above the yearly value of Forty shillings, which is common for all people, the cost not exceeding Ten shillings, before two or more Justices of the Peace, not to go back above two years.

The 7th and 8th of William III., c. 34, which is our Affirmation Act, is the Act for the Recovery of Tithes and Church-rates for any Sum not exceeding Ten pounds from Quakers only, before two Justices of the Peace, without any limitation of time; and by the statute of the first of George I., c. 6, § 2, limited to Ten shillings cost. *See the Statutes at large.*

our meetings, especially if strangers were at them; and I also told him, that persecution in our part of the world was become hateful among most sober people. He said, It was very well; and likewise mentioned, that we were refined, and not the people we had been. I asked him, wherein he thought we were refined? He answered, In our principles. I desired him to name one; and he said, George Fox denied the resurrection of the dead. I told him, George Fox did own a resurrection according to the Scriptures, as we do; but because he and our Friends thought it not safe to recede from plain Scripture, nor to comply with the way many people have of expressing it, which we think to be too gross and carnal, viz., that the same body shall rise, therefore they have asserted we deny the resurrection. The apostle saith, That which thou sowest, thou sowest not that body that shall be, for it is sown in corruption, raised in incorruption, sown a natural, raised a spiritual body; with much more that might be added: and how much such a change maketh a difference between the present and the future in the resurrection, between the natural and spiritual, corruption and incorruption, I know not of any finite creature that is able truly to determine; and therefore I think it is not consistent with charity or true wisdom to differ about such things which exceed our comprehension. He allowed it to be better to let them alone.

We parted very friendly, and Friends were glad of the opportunity, he having the character of being a great scholar and a wise man; but from all that passed, they believed he gained no advantage: however he behaved well; and before we parted, I told him, I thought the greatest reason why some think us refined was this, that formerly people were so prejudiced, that whatever was printed or

said against us, our principles, practice, and doctrines, was generally received and believed, though never so much disguised or covered with such dresses as might render us most odious, and were by many taken for the standard of our belief and practice; but of late the light hath more appeared, and many are grown better disposed toward us, and like wise men, not willing to be imposed upon any longer, have searched for themselves into the state of the controversy between us and our opposers; and our writings upon perusal, appearing so clear and different from what the books of those who opposed us charged upon us, caused many who read them with a good design, and were willing to be set right, to say we were reformed, and not the people that we had been. The priest said, He thought there might be much owing to that. I told him it was undeniable that there must be a great difference between our principles, doctrines, and conversations, truly stated and set forth in their proper light, and when they were misrepresented, sometimes with all the art and implacable malice that men were capable of. And this has been the way our adversaries have treated us, almost in every thing we have believed, said, or written, although it was very agreeable to the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament.

We returned back by Salem, Lynn, and Boston, and visited Friends in our way, and at Rhode Island, Long Island, and New York; and we had many good meetings and some large in the Jerseys, where I had some discourse with a Justice of the Peace about water baptism, but he did not hold it long before he gave up; and I had another at Allen's-town with a Presbyterian, which held for some hours, about water baptism, and concerning election and reprobation, and he also soon gave up as to the first; but when he began about election and reprobation, I said, I

thought it was the most pernicious doctrine that ever was broached in the world: it did so oppose the very nature of God, and His design of creating of man, which, with all His other works, He pronounced good and blessed; and that man, as the crown and glory of all His works which He had created, should be designed for the most miserable end, was unaccountable. I urged many Scriptures against that doctrine, as also the confusion they were in about it, as that of their Westminster Confession of Faith, wherein they say, That the decree is so certain and definite, that one cannot be added to the number of the elect, or diminished from the number of the reprobate; and yet you tell us, that God hath ordained the means to effect His ends. I then said, this supposition of a decree for the means, as well as the end, seems intended to make the priests and their service necessary; but yet if they cannot alter the decree, what benefit or advantage can there be to men by their services or performance? I hope none will think that a service to mankind, to strengthen or confirm that decree if it were in their power to do it, which I am satisfied it is not; because no such decree was made or is in being; the opposite appearing by plain Scripture (which he owned when I urged it), to wit, that the fall of Adam did affect all; and upon the parity of reason, the coming of Christ did reach as far; because, as in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive: he tasted death for every man, was a propitiation for the sins of all; and where then wilt thou find a people that is not included? But if thou canst find in, and prove by, plain Scripture that there is such a people not included in these general assertions, that Christ came to save, show me who they are. These and much more I urged against that doctrine, and he with many others appeared much satisfied, and we parted friendly: he

came next day several miles to a meeting which I had appointed. The man was counted a wise and sober man, and was under some convincement, and behaved well.

From thence we went to Pennsylvania, and had many good meetings in that part, and being clear and willing to return, I took leave of Friends in a loving and tender frame of spirit, and embarked on board a ship, whereof Samuel Flower was master, the 1st of the Third month, 1733, at Philadelphia, and arrived at Bristol, the 18th of the Fourth month following, and was glad we got safe to England, having been seven weeks in our passage. I got home on the 6th of the Sixth month, and was truly thankful to the Lord, who had preserved me in these long travels and labours of love, through many difficulties; but the Lord's power is sufficient to bear up and carry through all, renowned be His worthy name over all, now and for ever. Amen.

A remarkable deliverance which happened to me, being omitted in its proper place, I think fit to insert here, which was as follows:—

In the year 1718, and the Twelth month, when John Dodgson was visiting Friends in our parts, he lodged with me, and I went with him and his brother-in-law, Peter Buck, to be their guide to Whitby, and staid their First-day's Meeting, and Second-day's Preparative Meeting; and on the Third-day I went on with Friends toward Scarborough, to have the better road home, there having fallen a great deal of snow while we were at Whitby, so that it was looked upon impracticable for me to return the same way home that I came, it being a moorish, bad way. But in our way back, within a mile or little more from Scarborough, we came to a brook, which by reason of the ex-

cessive rain and snow was higher than ever I had seen it, so that when we came to ride through it, Henry Levins, our guide, first adventured in, being mounted upon a very strong large horse, and got over with some difficulty, and I followed him; but when I came about the middle of the fording-place, it took my mare off her feet, and something being in the way, it turned her upon her broadside, so that I was dismounted and carried away by the rapidity of the stream; but there being a foot-bridge a little below, about knee deep under water, and no rail either to be a guide, or to lay a hand on, and the water being reduced to a narrow compass, hurried me violently along, and drove me with my breast against the bridge with such force, that it very near knocked the breath out of me; but before I touched the bridge I happened to hold up my hand, and John Dodgson, seeing the danger I was in, jumped off his horse, and ran at a venture (seeing the water ripple) to hit the bridge, and just caught hold of my fingers, and held my head above water, until Henry Levins, who was got over, came to his assistance.

But by the strength of the water in my boot-tops, they being large, and by a nail (in the timber under the bridge) catching hold of my great coat, which held me fast, it was impossible for one man to free me, and not without some difficulty for them both to get me out, the nail holding so fast that it tore out a great piece of my coat, lining and all; but upon Henry's dismounting, his horse ran away to Scarborough, and mine swam back to the company, and when they had got me out, Henry ran on foot to get his horse, and found him at the stable door where he used to stand, and in the mean time John Dodgson kept me in motion by dragging me along, having very little or sometimes no hopes of my recovery. When the horse re-

turned, they got me back to Scarborough, but I was not sensible how, and they had me to Dorothy Jaques' house, and when there, they could perceive my lips move, but could not hear what I said, until one laid an ear close to my mouth, and so understood that I said, If they gave me any thing that was strong, it would carry me off; which made them very cautious. However, they stripped me and changed my shirt, and put me into a warmed bed, and applied warm flannel to my feet for three hours together, which I knew nothing of, being then altogether senseless.

Isaac Skelton, who had been a companion of mine in the service of the Truth through several counties, hearing of this accident, came immediately and got into bed to me, and kept me close in his bosom, which many thought was a great means to preserve my life. John Dodgson, though he intended for the Monthly Meeting, expressed so great a concern for me, that he said, he would either see me in a way of recovery, or die, before he left me; yet it pleased the Lord of His infinite mercy so wonderfully to raise me up again, as to enable me to be at the meeting next day, and also to bear some testimony, which was very acceptable and comfortable to Friends, as it was also to see me there beyond their expectation; but yet I was much troubled with pain, the fleshy part of my shoulder being rent by the violent hauling me out of the water.

In gratitude my soul can do no less than praise and magnify the Lord for this great deliverance, and all His other mercies, who alone is worthy. And I cannot but take notice of Friends' kindness and good will to me, in doing whatsoever they could for me, but more especially my worthy Friend John Dodgson, who hazarded his life to save mine.

THE END.

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